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THE HISTORY OF THE
SURGEONS' COMPANY



THE INTERIOR OF THE THEATRE
AT SURGEONS' HALL

Showing the body of a murderer exposed on the
table and the skeletons of felons in the niches.

(See page 64.)

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THE HISTORY OF THE SURGEONS' COMPANY

1745-1800

By

CECIL WALL, M.A., D.M., F.R.C.P.

*Thomas Vicary Lecturer at the Royal College of Surgeons
of England, 1935.*

With a Foreword by

SIR D'ARCY POWER, K.B.E.

*Hon. Librarian and Hunterian Trustee, Royal College of
Surgeons of England.*

With Frontispiece and 9 other Illustrations

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PREFACE

THIS BOOK FOUND ITS ORIGIN IN THE GENEROUS endowment of a lecture on the history of Surgery by the Worshipful Company of Barbers in memory of its erstwhile Master, Thomas Vicary, the famous Barber-Surgeon of the sixteenth century.

The appointment of the lecturer is entrusted to the President and Council of the Royal College of Surgeons, and to them I owe gratitude for the honour conferred upon me by their invitation to lecture before them in 1935.

In selecting the subject I knew that it had been dealt with ably in Sir D'Arcy Power's edition of *South's Craft of Surgery* published in 1886, but had the good fortune to find that much additional information had become available since the publication of that work.

Engaged upon the research I found that the treasure unearthed could not be displayed within the limits of a single lecture, and yet seemed worthy of exhibition to those who are interested in the evolution of the profession of Surgery.

PREFACE

The main sources of information have been the manuscript minute and account books of the Company of Surgeons and the collection of Counsel's opinions which the Council of the College permitted me to study. I have had access also to the manuscript annals of the College of Physicians and to the minute books and other records of the Society of Apothecaries.

The City Lands Committee kindly granted me permission to search through their minute books for information with regard to Surgeons' Hall.

My debt to contemporary and more recent literature is considerable, and for this reason I have added a bibliography of the works consulted.

My grateful thanks are due to Sir D'Arcy Power for his continued encouragement and advice, to Mr. Kennedy Cassels for kindly permitting access to his office and his strong room at times which must often have been inconvenient to him, to Mr. LeFanu for his advice and assistance in the library at the College, to Sir Adrian Pollock the City Chamberlain, Mr. Crowther Smith the Comptroller, and Dr. A. H. Thomas, LL.D., the Deputy-Keeper of the Archives at the Guildhall for their free and valuable assistance and to the librarians of the Royal College of Physicians, the Royal Society of

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Medicine, the Medical Society, the London Library and the Guildhall for their ever-ready help.

As archivist to the Society of Apothecaries I have free access to all the records at their Hall.

CECIL WALL.

37 DEVONSHIRE PLACE,
W. 1

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ABBREVIATIONS

- M.=Minutes.
C.A.=Court of Assistants.
C.E.=Court of Examiners.
R.C.S.=Royal College of Surgeons.
C.P. or R.C.P.=Royal College of Physicians.
S.A.=Society of Apothecaries.
C.J.=Commons' Journals.

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The Arms on the cover were used by the Surgeons' Company, but apparently they were not granted officially

FOREWORD

THERE ARE SEVERAL REASONS FOR CONGRATULATING Dr. Cecil Wall on this account of the Surgeons' Company. In the first place he has done a service to the history of Surgery in London. The early and modern periods are fairly well known, the Georgian era has remained almost unexplored. Dr. Cecil Wall has thrown much light upon it by going to original sources for his information and as a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians and Archivist to the Society of Apothecaries he has had access to additional documents. The result of his work has been to show that London surgeons have remained true to type, excellent craftsmen but shockingly bad at business. They appear at first as members of a profession unable to combine in their own interest and collectively penniless. The Barbers who did not profess to be more than tradesmen and were the general practitioners of the time were well-to-do and had become a powerful corporate body. They allowed the surgeons to join them and for two hundred years the United

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Company of Barbers and Surgeons was prosperous. Better education and increasing knowledge then led the surgeons to try to convert themselves into a profession again. Dr. Cecil Wall shows how badly they succeeded. Each surgeon acted for himself, there was an absence of cohesion, lack of supervision in the Corporation and a general slackness. The end was disaster; and there Dr. Wall leaves it, for he is not concerned with the subsequent reorganisation.

It is evident that the Company of Barbers no longer bears any ill-will to their former allies and is now in amity with the Royal College of Surgeons of England. Dr. Wall in this book has expanded the Vicary Lecture he delivered in 1935, a lecture founded and endowed by the Barbers' Company in 1919 and given annually at the Royal College of Surgeons.

D'ARCY POWER.

THE HISTORY OF THE SURGEONS' COMPANY 1745-1800

CHAPTER I

Barbers and Barber-Surgeons, 1462-1745

THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF THE PROFESSION of Surgery in England began in 1462 when Edward IV granted a Charter to the Company of Barbers. The provisions of this Charter indicate that the craft of the Barber in those days was more closely concerned with the treatment of the sick and hurt by outward applications than with trimming the hair of the healthy.

Feb. 24,
1 Ed. IV.

In 1511 the system of controlling the practice of Surgery by a chartered Company was found to be unsatisfactory, and an Act was passed by Parliament requiring those who practised Medicine or Surgery in England to be licensed after due examination by the Bishop of the diocese, or in the case of London by the Dean of St. Paul's.

3 Hy. VIII,
c. II.

The College of Physicians was granted a Royal

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Charter in 1518 and this was confirmed by statute in 1520. From this time onward it seems that the practice of Medicine in London was controlled by the College of Physicians though the Act of 1511 was not repealed. Surgeons, however, had to obtain the statutory licence, and if practising within the privileges of the City, to take up the freedom of the Barbers' Company.

Until 1534 the bishops acted as delegates of the Pope. In that year by the Act of Supremacy and succession their licensing functions were transferred to the Archbishop of Canterbury, acting for the King.

The dissolution of the religious houses brought into civil life many who had lost their former means of livelihood. Ecclesiastics had been forbidden by the Church to shed blood, but many had practised Medicine and instructed lay brethren when surgical treatment was necessary. Men who had thus acquired the rudiments of Surgery, when forced to earn their living, turned their special knowledge to account and began to practise as Surgeons.

In the Tudor period beards went out of fashion and many Barbers found that the art of shaving and haircutting was more **Chevalier.** lucrative and required less skill than the craft of Surgery.

Thus there was developed a distinction between Barbery and Surgery.

In these circumstances regulation of practice

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became an urgent public need. The existing organisation was modified to suit the changed conditions.

In London, the City Companies, which in the remote past had been founded as mutual benefit societies and burial clubs, had gradually restricted their membership to those engaged in one particular trade or industry, and in course of time had gained by Royal Charters the right to regulate that industry.

The Barbers received their Charter in 1462, but their jurisdiction was restricted to the City of London and a circuit of one mile. Surgeons practising outside this area and those in the service of the Crown could not be compelled to take up the freedom of the Company or to be subject to its control.

In 1540 there were two associations of Surgeons in London, one incorporated as the Barbers' Company, of which, however, there were many freemen who practised only Barbery, and a second small group said to be only twelve in number, who specialised in Surgery but were not incorporated.

To secure the regulation of the practice of Surgery in London the Barber-Surgeons' Company
32 Hy. VIII, was constituted by statute in 1540.¹
c. 42. The fusion of the unincorporated Surgeons with the Barbers offered an administra-

¹ Sidney Young gives the full text. *Annals of the Barber-Surgeons*, pp. 586-590.

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tive convenience: the majority of those who practised Surgery were already members of the old Company. The names of ten of those whose portraits were included by Holbein in his picture of the reception of the Charter from the hands of Henry VIII, have been recorded: there were six Surgeons and four Barbers. Of the Surgeons four were members of the old Company. Thomas Vicary, the first Master of the new Company, and Sir John Ayliff had served the office of Master, Nicholas Alcock and Christopher Salmond were liverymen. Two were "foreigners," James Monforde and Richard Ferris; both were described as King's Surgeons.

The old Company possessed a Hall and other property whereas the unincorporated Surgeons brought merely their own ability and influence to the common stock.

The area to be controlled by the Company was, as before, limited to the City and a compass of one mile.

The government of the Company was entrusted to four Masters, two Surgeons and two Barbers. The principal Master in alternate years was a Surgeon or a Barber.

The Surgeons were forbidden to practise Barbery or Shaving; the Barbers could draw teeth, but were not allowed to practise Surgery or to bleed. The Surgeons had to display a special

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sign in front of their shops. This sign survives as the Barber's pole with its spiral suggestion of venesection.

To encourage surgical education the Company was entitled each year to the bodies of four executed felons which the Surgeons were enjoined to dissect : conference at the Hall between members was encouraged as a means of advancing knowledge of their art. The Act of 1540 required that all who practised Surgery in London should have been examined and approved by the Company, but the Act of 1511 was still in force and required a licence from the Bishop of London or the Dean of St. Paul's acting now as delegates of the Archbishop.

The Surgeons forthwith proceeded to exercise the privileges granted by the Act with such vigour that two years later the legislature had to intervene. The Surgeons were accused of oppressing the charitable and of making exorbitant charges, and it was enacted that any subject might make outward applications for the cure of sores, etc., and give drinks for stone, strangury, or agues, notwithstanding the Statute of 1540. This Act "that persones being no comen surgeons maie ministre medicines outwarde" records in the preamble abuses by Surgeons licensed under the Act of 1511.

34 & 35
Hy. VIII,
c. 8.

This reference, together with some incidents in

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the subsequent history of the Company, suggests that the freedom of the Company, even when acquired after examination, did not directly confer the right to practise, but was accepted by the Bishops or by the Dean of St. Paul's as a qualification for the Episcopal licence in the same manner as certain recognised qualifications secure admission to the Medical Register to-day.

The Bishops at that time fulfilled the function of the modern General Medical Council.

The Company was charged with the duty of preventing unlicensed practice, but it is not clear that they forced their members to take the Bishop's licence, and it is certain that in the seventeenth century the licences were often conferred without the previous approval of the Company.

A working agreement had been made in 1599, but it was not observed for long.

In 1703 Daniel Turner, in an open letter to Charles Bernard the Master of the Company, complained of the ease with which the licences could be obtained for a small sum by anyone, however unfit for practice.

**Present
state of
Chirurgery,
1703. p. 15.**

In 1713 the Bishop agreed not to confer the Surgical licence on anyone unless approved by the Company. In return the Company promised to urge its members to take the Bishop's licence and agreed to pay the Registrar £5

**C.J., XXIV,
p. 778.**

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per annum as caveat money to prevent the licensing of those not approved.¹

In 1715 the Bishop announced a visitation of London and summoned all licentiates in Surgery to attend. The Company replied in vigorous terms and threatened that if he persisted in demanding the attendance of their members they would take a test case into the law courts. Negotiations followed and the Bishop gave way.

**Bloom
& James,
p. 30.**

Licences to practise Medicine were also granted by the Bishops on easy terms. In 1687 the College of Physicians sent a circular letter to the Bishops claiming that the licence could be granted only after examination by approved physicians. In 1713 another circular letter was issued claiming that even in the provinces “the Bishop’s licence without the examination of the President and three elects and testimonial letters was void by Act of Parliament.”

**Ann. C.P.,
Nov. 29,
1687.**

**ib.
Oct. 8,
1713.**

It seems probable that as the result of these protests the Bishop’s licences for the practice of Medicine or Surgery were not granted in London after 1713.

James I in 1605 regranted their Charter to the Barber-Surgeons without material alteration, except the extension of the area of jurisdiction to a circuit of three miles.

¹ Cheselden became free of the Barber-Surgeons’ Company in 1711 and was granted the Episcopal licence in 1712.

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In 1629 Charles I by a Charter, which was not confirmed by Statute, increased the area to a seven-mile circuit, ordered the appointment of
5 Car. I. a Court of Examiners in Surgery and entrusted to the Company the duty of examining and approving Ships' Surgeons.

The new Charter forbade the practice of Surgery in London without the Company's approval and gave all those examined and approved the right to be granted a licence to practise anywhere in England.

The establishment of public lectures in Surgery was also authorised.

This Charter was soon followed by a considerable advance in the financial prosperity and social status of the Surgeons.

The next milestone in the path of progress is dated 1664, when the Physicians, having obtained a new Charter from Charles II, sought to get it confirmed by Statute. This Charter seemed to infringe the privileges of both the Apothecaries and the Surgeons to such an extent that the two Companies took counsel and presented petitions against the Physicians' Bill.

The Physicians were far more jealous of the practising Apothecaries than they were of the Surgeons and bought off the opposition
**Ann. C.P.,
April 4,
1664.** of the latter by agreeing to a definition of the province of Surgery which was to consist of "the treatment of tumours, fractures,

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dislocations, ulcers, wounds, syphilis and female diseases.”

To the Apothecaries they would not yield anything, with the result that their Bill was lost and their new Charter was never confirmed by Statute.

During the reign of Charles II the Surgeons began to show their resentment against their association with the Barbers, and when their Charter was surrendered to the Crown in 1684 under the Quo Warranto proceedings against Municipalities and Corporations they petitioned for a new Charter giving them a separate existence. Probably owing to the fact that the original Charter was statutory and therefore could not be superseded by Royal Prerogative without Parliamentary intervention, procedure was slow and when James II had to restore the Charters in 1688 the Barber-Surgeons received theirs back unchanged.

In 1689 the Company sought to promote a Bill granting statutory authority to the Clause in the Charter of 1629 which gave their members the monopoly of the practice of Surgery in London and the seven-mile circuit. Mr. Hollis, their counsel, was instructed that “if the Bishop of London or the Dean of St. Paul’s oppose the Company in having full power and authority for licensing Surgeons, a clause forbidding the Bishop’s licence except after previous approval by the Company be inserted.”

C.J., XXIV,
p. 777.
S.A. Min.,
May 6,
1690.

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In addition to this licensing power the Company sought in the Bill to gain the right "for duly approved Surgeons to give all sorts of internal medicines to their chirurgical patients as they shall think most conducing to the health and quick recovery of their patients."

**C.J., X, 1689
& 1690, pp.
342 & 344.**

The suggestion of this clause evoked immediate and vigorous opposition by both the Physicians and the Apothecaries and the Bill failed to pass.

**ib., pp. 458
& 482.**

In 1706 the Surgeons made another attempt, this time after conference with the Apothecaries and agreeing to the insertion of a clause "to save them harmless."

**C.J., 1705/6,
XV., pp. 107,
134.**

Sir Gilbert Heathcott, M.P. for the City and President of St. Thomas' Hospital, and Lord Coningsby obtained leave to bring in the Bill, but it did not get beyond the second reading.

**S.A. Min.,
Jan. 3, 1705/6.**

In this Bill it was proposed that the Company should examine the Surgeons and Surgeons' mates for the Army as they did for the Navy.

This suggestion was repeated in the form of a petition to Queen Anne in 1711, but again without avail.

**Young,
Annals of
Barber-Sur-
geons, p. 348.**

The rapid increase in the wealth of the country which accompanied the long peace following the Marlborough wars aided greatly the evolution of the Surgical

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profession : the growth and bursting of the South Sea bubble caused the ruin of many, but at the same time led to a redistribution of wealth. It is reputed that a large part of the fortune which enabled Guy to endow his hospital was derived from dealing in South Sea stock, and this was not the only hospital founded at this period : between 1720 and 1745 Westminster, St. George's, the London and Middlesex Hospitals were established and St. Bartholomew's was rebuilt.

The work at the hospitals encouraged the Surgeons to specialise and soon led to the formation of a class of ambitious men who cast aside trade and devoted themselves solely to their craft.

When the opportunity came John Ranby was the man who seized it.

He was born in 1703, the son of an inn-holder of St. Giles in the Fields. In 1715 he was bound apprentice to Edward Barnard, a Barber-Surgeon by Episcopal licence, but not a freeman of the Company. In 1722 Ranby, aged nineteen, was made free of the Company as a foreign brother and in 1724 he was elected F.R.S. In 1729 he married Jane, the daughter of the Hon. Dacre Barrett-Lennard. He did not hold any appointment at any of the great hospitals, but in 1738 he became Surgeon-in-Ordinary to the Household. He was appointed Serjeant-Surgeon in 1740 and principal Serjeant-Surgeon in 1743, when he accompanied

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George II to the Continent and was present at the battle of Dettingen. It is said that "though harsh of voice with inelegant manners" his personal influence with his royal master was responsible for securing the separation of the Surgeons from the Barbers in 1745. He was the first Master of the new Company and was re-elected to that office in 1751 and 1752. He was a member of the first Court of Examiners until his death in 1773. In 1752 he succeeded Cheselden as Surgeon to the Chelsea Hospital.

CHAPTER II

The Separation of the Surgeons from the Barbers, 1745

THE PROPOSAL THAT THE SURGEONS SHOULD BE separated from the Barbers to form an independent Company was made officially on 20th December, 1744. The minute records that : “ This day the gentlemen on the Surgeons’ side having made known at this Court their desire of being separated from the gentlemen on the Barbers and that each may be made a distinct and independent body free from each other and producing a case intended to be offered to the Honourable House of Commons praying such separation, which being read at this Court, it was agreed that the following gentlemen on the Barbers side, viz^t—

“ Mr. Warden Negus, Mr. Parker, Mr. Maurice, Mr. Trulove, and Mr. Haddon,
on the Surgeons’ side, viz^t—

“ Mr. Sergt. Dickins, Willm. Petty Esq., James Dansie Esq^{re}., Mr. Freke and Mr. Sainthill,
be a committee appointed to meet on Monday next at the Kings Arms Tavern in St. Paul’s Church Yard

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at one of the clock at noon to receive the proposals from the gentlemen on the Surgeon's side for such Separation and that when they had so done that the gentlemen on the Barber's side members of this Court should lay the same before the Livery on their side by a Meeting to be had for that purpose and that a Court of Assistants should be held on the Tenth day of January next, at which time the gentlemen on the Barber's Side Members of this Court, should then report their opinion and assent or Dissent to such proposals made."

"At the same time it was agreed that any Member of this Court should at any time have the free liberty of examining and inspecting into the several Books and writings belonging to this Company. In case the same should be in the presence of the Master or one of the Wardens but not otherwise, but no such Books or writings be at any time removed from the Hall, on any account whatever unless by a special order of this Court first had and obtained for that purpose."

Ranby, though a freeman of the Company, was not a member of the Court and consequently was not a member of the Committee.

The Barbers offered some opposition, but the Surgeons persisted in their efforts, and on January 31st, 1745, presented their petition to Parliament.

C.J., XXIV,
Jan. 31,
1774/5,
p. 729.

They claimed that the Barbers had been incorporated by Edward IV in 1462, but

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that the Surgeons, though they had united to form a Society, had not been incorporated. In 1540 Parliament had united the Surgeons with the Barbers to form one Company, and in so doing had defined the limits of their several functions.

“No person within the city and suburbs of London and one mile compass of the said City using any barbery or shaving should practise any surgery except drawing of teeth only and that no person practising surgery within the circuit aforesaid should use or exercise barbery or shaving.”

That is to say that, though united for administrative purposes, Barbery and Surgery were recognised to be distinct crafts.

Charles I in 1629 had confirmed the privileges and possessions of the united Company and given it power to make bylaws “to elect
C.J., *ib.* Masters or Governors and to constitute ten persons to be examiners of the Surgeons of London during their lives.”

No one might practise Surgery in London or within seven miles unless he had been examined by the Company and Surgeons approved after examination might practise anywhere in England without restraint.

Furthermore it was ordered that “no person exercising the art of Surgery within the limits mentioned should go out or send any apprentice or servant from the Port of London to serve in quality

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of a Surgeon for any ship without the approbation or allowance of the said Company in such manner and under such penalties as are mentioned."

Finally, permission was granted to establish lectures in Surgery. The petitioners claimed that the grant of these rights of examining, approving and teaching proved that the State recognised that "the profession and practice of Surgery was of great and public benefit and utility to this kingdom."

The Surgeons had become a numerous and considerable body, but the Barbers were employed in a business foreign to and independent of the practice of Surgery.

The union of the Surgeons with the Barbers was inconvenient in many respects, and in no degree conducive to the progress and improvement in the art of Surgery.

Therefore the petitioners prayed for a separate incorporation of the Surgeons then free of the Barber-Surgeons' Company.

The Barbers promptly presented a counter-petition, in which it was pointed out that when **C.J., XXIV,** Edward IV granted the Charter to the **p. 739.** Barbers' Company he gave the Company powers and privileges for the examination and control of the practice of Surgery because at that time most of the freemen were Surgeons. It was only later that specialism in Surgery developed and that the Surgeons of London formed themselves

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into a Society and at the time of the union they numbered but twelve persons.

In 1540 the Barbers were prosperous and wealthy, owning houses and land; the Surgeons were too few in number to form a separate Company and consequently they were united with the Barbers. "All the advantages of that union," they urged, "appear to have been on the Surgeons' side, they acquiring the powers and possessions of the Barbers, while the Barbers lost the exercise of a profession much more profitable than their own."

Two hundred years later the Surgeons had become "a very large, rich and flourishing body, while the Company's estates, by losses and otherwise, had been considerably reduced so that they were unable to provide for their numerous poor without the assistance and support of the Surgeons."

They claimed, therefore, that the dissolution and division prayed by the Surgeons was a manifest injustice to the Barbers.

The two petitions were referred by the House of Commons to a Committee who heard Counsel for **C.J., XXIV,** both parties, and reported at the end **pp. 773-781.** of February that they were satisfied that the Barbers of London had been incorporated by Edward IV not as Barbers but as Surgeons. The Charter, after reciting "that several mischiefs had arisen to the subjects of this kingdom through the ignorance, negligence and insufficiency of divers

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persons practising Surgery and from want of a proper examination, correction and punishment of such persons," incorporated "the said Barbers empowering them to make laws and ordinances for the good government of the Corporation," and gave them "the oversight and superintending of all persons practising Surgery within the City and suburbs of London, with power to punish all such as should improperly exercise the said mystery and to inspect their instruments, plasters and medicines," and declared that "no person for the future should be admitted to the freedom of the said Company but such as were sufficiently skilled in the mystery of Surgery."

The Committee agreed that the intention of the legislature in 1540, when uniting the incorporated Company of Barbers with the unincorporated Surgeons "was that by their often assembling together the knowledge of Surgery might be promoted," but at the same time it was enacted that Barbery and Surgery should be kept separate and distinct.

The Committee stated further that they were satisfied after reading the Charters of James I (1605) and Charles I (1629) that the inspection and government of all persons practising Surgery in London or a circuit of seven miles was entrusted to the Masters and Governors of the Company, that two of the four Governors chosen annually must be professors of Surgery, that ten Surgeons were to

THE SURGEONS' HALL IN THE OLD BAILEY, 1751-1796

The door below the steps was for the admission of the bodies of murderers who "noxious in their lives, make a sort of reparation to their fellow creatures by becoming useful after death."
(See page 64.)

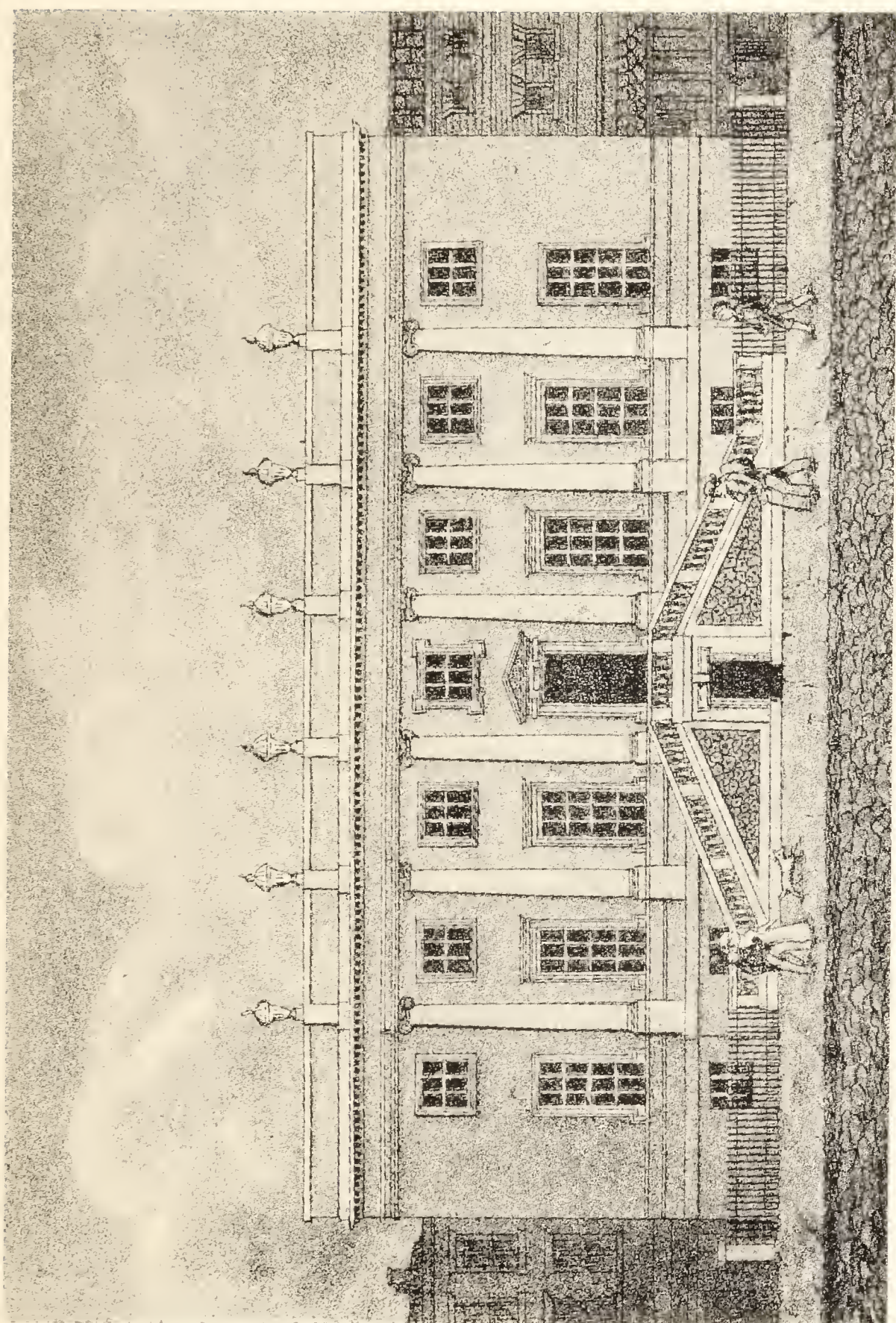
From an aquatint in the possession of the Royal College of Surgeons.

FROM AN APPOINTMENT IN THE POSSESSION OF THE ROYAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS.

(See page 64.)

their lives, make a sort of reparation to their fellow creatures by becoming useful after death." The door below the steps was for the admission of the bodies of murderers who "noxious in

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be appointed for life as examiners, and that practice of Surgery within the prescribed limits was prohibited except to those who had been examined by four or more of the examiners in the presence of two or more of the Governors, and had been approved under their common seal.

The evidence of the witnesses examined by the Committee affords some interesting details.

The Court of Examiners consisted of the ten Examiners together with the Master and two Wardens. Each received a fee of 10s. 6d. The Master was Chairman of the Court and he and the Wardens signed the diploma. The office of Master was filled in alternate years by a Surgeon and a Barber; if the Chairman was a Surgeon he took part in the examination, if a Barber he merely presided; according to the Bylaws he had a casting vote, but there was no record of a Barber ever having exercised his right.

Joseph Wheeler, the clerk, explained that if the Chairman was a Barber "he only put the question whether the person examined shall be allowed."

William Burrill, a freeman of the Company, told the Committee that two Barbers were present at his examination and signed his diploma; one of them, Mr. Fradin, had expressed some resentment against him for not having previously waited on him but had not interfered in the examination, the whole of which had been managed by the Surgeons.

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The fee paid by a candidate for "the grand diploma" was six guineas and a contribution of 10s. 6d. to the poor box.

The "Sea-Surgeons" were not charged any fee for their examination; if approved "the qualification was delivered to the party sealed up to be carried to the Navy Office" and the Master then commonly signified to him what contribution he was expected to give to the poor box; "if he was not in a capacity it was not insisted on."¹

This poor box was opened once a month and about nine-tenths of the contents were given by the Master and Wardens to the poor of the Barbers.

The poor-box fund was mainly augmented by the generous contributions of the Sea-Surgeons, but Surgeons' apprentices on taking up their freedom had to pay 5s. and Barbers' apprentices 2s. 6d. Both Surgeons and Barbers on promotion to the livery paid 5s. Foreign brother Surgeons on being made free of the Company by redemption, which cost £10 10s., had to contribute £1 1s. to the poor box.

¹ In 1739, Tobias Smollett was approved for the post of second mate on a third-rate ship. In *Roderick Random* he described the procedure and mentioned the fees of 5s. for the poor box, 3s. 6d. for the beadle and 1s. for the woman who cleaned the hall.

The word qualification was used for the certificate indicating the post for which the examiners thought that the candidate was suited.

SEPARATION OF SURGEONS FROM BARBERS

By the Statute of Apprentices (5 Elizabeth) both Barbers and Surgeons had to serve for seven years before they could be made free ; the consideration paid to a Master Barber on the binding of an apprentice was about £10, but Surgeons received £100 to £250.¹ In 1743 there had been eighty-four bindings to Barbers and five to Surgeons.

Unless the apprenticeship had been served with a freeman of the Society the Surgeon was termed a foreign brother, and one of the grievances was that so few of the foreign brothers took up the freedom of the Company. In five years only eight or ten had done so, the reason alleged being the expense of the offices which the freemen of the Company had to serve or to pay a heavy fine on refusal. These offices were not merely those customary in all City Companies such as gentleman usher and steward on Lord Mayor's day, steward at the annual feast, etc., but the special offices peculiar to the Surgeons of Master, Warden and Steward of anatomy. The Surgeons submitted a list of no less than two hundred and forty foreign brothers, but being challenged by the Barbers admitted that many of them lived in the country and many were dead, so that the total number practising in London was found to be about ninety.

Instruction in Anatomy and Osteology was given by demonstrators who were appointed by the whole

¹ Ranby's fee was £210.

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Court of Assistants, fifteen of whom were Surgeons and fifteen Barbers ; it was asserted that in spite of this peculiar arrangement there had never been any contest between the Barbers and Surgeons with regard to the elections.

Barbers as well as Surgeons attended the four annual public lectures on anatomy, two of which were given at the expense of the Company and two by the Masters and Stewards of anatomy. The annual expenditure of the Company on this account was about £103, towards which there was the interest on £510 given by Mr. Alderman Arris to endow a lecture on the muscles and an annuity of £16 bequeathed by Mr. John Gale for an osteology lecture.

The Company was entitled by the Act to receive the bodies of four murderers after execution each year, but the supply seems to have been irregular and often failed.

Anatomical dissection away from the Hall was not permitted ; it is recorded that Cheselden was called before the Court and reprimanded for giving demonstrations at his own house.

Sea-Surgeons complained that the certificate granted by the Barber-Surgeons was not understood in other countries. A naval Surgeon, by name Neil Stewart, who had been appointed to H.M.S. *Looe* gave evidence. Returning home on a merchant ship he had been captured by the French and been

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confined in the common prison at Brest. As an officer he petitioned to be removed to a hospital at Dinan enclosing his Naval Warrant ; his request was refused on the ground that it was not clear whether he was a Barber or a Surgeon, the certificate in the introduction to the warrant " being said to come from the Master and Governors of the Mistery and Commonalty of Barbers and Surgeons." He succeeded in getting transferred by other means, but thought that if he had been taken on board of one of His Majesty's ships his office would have been recognised at once.

The Committee came to the conclusion that the Surgeons had made out a good case for separation from the Barbers, and reported that the
C.J., vol. XXIV, p. 776. creation of a separate Company of Surgeons would " contribute much to the improvement of surgery and thereby become a matter of public utility."

The division of the property of the old Company was arranged by mutual consent at the suggestion of the Committee.

Arris' gift of £510 and Gale's annuity of £16 were to be vested in trust in the Company of Surgeons.

All the remaining real and personal estate was to belong to the Barbers.

The Surgeons wished to rent the theatre, dissecting-room and gallery for a guinea a year until they

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could provide their own conveniences. The Barbers suggested that the rent should be £80 a year and that the Surgeons should pay £100 towards the cost of the Parliamentary enquiry.

The negotiations for renting the theatre pending the building of the new hall fell through and for some years the anatomical lectures were not given.

The Stationers offered the Surgeons the use of their Hall as a meeting-place until their new house was built ; the Surgeons took advantage of the offer and the accounts show that some payment was made for the convenience.

**C.A. Min.,
July 1, 1745.**

It is curious that at no time during the Parliamentary enquiry was any reference made to the Episcopal licences under the Act of 1511 though the Act had not been repealed.

Helped by this favourable report and in the absence of any opposition by the City of London, the College of Physicians or the Society of Apothecaries, the Bill made rapid progress through both Houses of Parliament and received Royal assent on 2nd May, 1745.

**C.J., XXIV,
Jan. 31,
1744/45,
p. 729.**

During its passage two important additions were made. Candidates for the post of Surgeon or Surgeon's Mate in the Army were to be examined by the Company in the same way as the Sea-Surgeons had been examined since the Charter of 1629 and,

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secondly, members of the Company were to be exempt from the duties of watch and ward and other parish offices.

Exemption from civic offices in London had been granted by the Act of 1513 to twelve Surgeons **5 Hy. VIII, c. 6.** licensed by the Bishop or Dean of St. Paul's under the Act of 1511. The Act of 1540 creating the Barber-Surgeons' Company, granted a similar exemption for all approved Surgeons, but did not excuse the surgical members of the Company from the necessity of acquiring the Bishop's licence, though as the freedom of the Company was only granted after the examiners were satisfied, the requirements of the Act were easily fulfilled. At first there does not seem to have been much difficulty, but before long the Surgeons began to think that the Bishop's licence was unnecessary and resented the payment of the fee.

The penalty for unlicensed practice was a fine of £5 for each month, half to go to the Crown and half to the informer.

The difficulty in procuring the necessary evidence against a delinquent and the improbability in most cases of being able to recover the fine after conviction discouraged the common informer. The Company, in the interests of its members, could take action against the unlicensed but would not feel inclined to do so against its own members.

The Act of 1745 granted exemption from civic

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functions to freed Surgeons, but did not give statutory confirmation to the clause in the Royal Charter of 1629 which forbade the practice of Surgery in the London district by those who had not been examined at the Barber-Surgeons' Hall.

The Bishop's licence was no longer of any advantage to members of the Company, but the Company had no power to prevent practice by those who were not members except by acting as common informers under the Act of 1511, which had not been repealed, but had ceased to be operative. Because of the terms of the Act of 1745 the Bishops could not prevent the diplomates of the Company from practising, and it was contrary to the interest of the Company to compel those who did not hold their diploma to seek the Bishop's licence.

In 1736 an Act had been passed for "regulating nightly watch and beadles" which entitled the City to levy a rate upon the inhabitants.

10 Geo. II.

In 1747 a Surgeon, practising in the City, refused to pay the watch duty on the ground that he was exempt from watch and ward service.

The case was submitted to Dudley Ryder, who gave his opinion that the rate was a pecuniary duty and not a personal service and that therefore the Surgeon was not exempt.

CHAPTER III

Constitution and Bylaws of the Surgeons' Company

IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE TERMS OF THE ACT THE Court of Assistants of the new Company held its first meeting on 1st July, 1745, at the Stationers' Hall, which had been placed at their disposal. John Ranby took the oath as the first freeman of the Company and then that of the first Master. In honour of the event he presented a silver cup which is now in the possession of the Royal College of Surgeons.

Maitland, II,
1239.
C.A. Min.

Joseph Cruttenden, an attorney at law, was elected Clerk with a salary of £60 a year with a proviso forbidding perquisites.

John Westbrook, the son of one of the members of the Court, having served his apprenticeship was made free, paying the fine of two guineas and the stamp duty. On the same day he was elected to the livery and clothed, paying a further fine of ten guineas.

The Act directed the new Company to work in accordance with the Bylaws of the joint Company

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until their own Bylaws had been drafted and approved.

The Surgeons' Company did not seek the right to have a livery, as this would have meant acknowledgment of the jurisdiction of the Court of Aldermen.

Westbrook was the only freeman of the Company who was ever officially "clothed"; the accounts record that in 1746 Thomas Gataker, who was a freeman of the old Company, paid £8 2s. 6d. for his livery fine, but the Court Minutes do not allude to his promotion.

The second meeting was held a fortnight later; it was then decided to make a strenuous endeavour to attract all Surgeons practising in London to join the Company if they were not already members. A letter was sent to all foreign brothers inviting them to meet the Court at the Stationers' Hall. The fine for the freedom and the livery was fixed at £12 14s. 6d. for foreigners, the sum paid by those made free after service and promoted to the livery in the old Company. When the new Bylaws were passed the inclusive fee for membership was raised to £21 12s. 6d.

The underlying desire to raise the social status of the Surgeons is shown clearly by the early decisions of the Court. At their second meeting a resolution was passed that "no person practising pharmacy

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shall for the future be chosen either of the Court of Examiners or Assistants on any pretence whatsoever." It is noteworthy, however, that the prohibition of pharmacy did not apply to the freemen of the Company in general.

The resolution was subsequently incorporated in the Bylaws and was not rescinded during the life of the Company.

A further indication of the desire of the new Court to sever all connection with trade is to be found in the statement of certain problems presented to Counsel for an opinion. The Company asked whether "since their separation from the Barbers and of their being now of no trade but of the profession of Surgery only :

- (1) They are to be considered as a new elected Corporation so as to be exempt from any power of the Lord Mayor or whether they must still be considered as a City and Livery Company in the same manner as during their union with the Barbers ?
- (2) They are exempt from bearing arms or serving in the militia ?
- (3) Surgeons after passing an examination can practise in the City without taking up the freedom of the City ?
- (4) They can compel surgeons to pass an examination ? "

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C. Erskine's opinion is dated 29th May, 1746.

(1) He thought that it was not clear whether the Surgeons' Company was to be a Livery Company, but "from the last clause relating to apprentices it seemed that it was intended that the Company of Surgeons should continue to be a Livery Company, because it was there declared that they were to admit apprentices to their freedom and persons so admitted were entitled to the freedom of the City."¹

(2) Members were exempt from militia service.

In 1757 an Act was passed making all persons between 18 and 50 liable for service in the militia either personally or by a substitute under a penalty of £10. There were certain exemptions, but Surgeons were not included amongst them.

31 Geo. II.
C.A. Min.,
Nov. 26, 1759.

¹ The Surgeons do not appear to have attached much importance to the freedom of the City. In 1758, a complaint was made by the Chamberlain that "the present indentures not being according to the usual form, until they were altered, no person could be enrolled or made free of the City who was bound thereby."

The Court merely resolved that "in future those to be bound or their parents or masters shall have the choice of indentures in present form or with the proposed alteration."

In the livery list kept at the Guildhall of those entitled to vote at the Parliamentary election in 1768, the Surgeons' Company is credited with 19 liverymen, but all of them seem to have been liverymen of the old Barber-Surgeons' Company. The list for 1773 does not include the Surgeons' Company.

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Charles Pratt was consulted by the Company in 1759, and was quite definite in his opinion that "members of the Company were liable to serve in person or by substitute." To pacify its members the Court promised to apply to Parliament for the exemption of Surgeons "if an opportunity arose."

- (3) All persons examined and approved were entitled to practise without restraint in any city or liberty whatsoever notwithstanding any charters or customs to the contrary.
- (4) The Crown Charters given in 1629 to the united Barber-Surgeons had not been confirmed by the Act, consequently the Company had no power to compel persons to be examined who wished to practise in London or the seven miles' circuit.

Erskine said that he would not advise the Company ever to bring that part of their Charter in question upon any trial: though there were some specious arguments in favour of compulsory examination which might seem to be of weight out of a court of law.

Erskine was asked yet another question: Were the members of the old Company who practised as Surgeons, though they had not been admitted and approved, eligible for admission to the new Company?

The Act, he said, was quite definite on this point,

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“all members of the Company not admitted and approved Surgeons are to be of the Barbers' Company.”

If such members transferred themselves to another Company they would be liable to a fine of £40 as ordered by the Bylaws of the united Company.

The Court interpreted this opinion as limiting the freedom of the Company to approved Surgeons. Other City Companies admitted by patrimony, redemption or even by gift certain members who were not qualified under the Elizabethan Statute of apprentices to exercise the particular craft controlled. Such members enjoyed the civic and corporate privileges other than those pertaining to the craft. The Surgeons decided to keep their Company purely a craft guild.

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When Erskine gave his opinion in 1746 upon the problems submitted to him by the Surgeons, he added his advice that an entirely new collection of Bylaws should be drawn up. His advice was taken and in 1748 the new Bylaws were formally approved in accordance with the Act 19, Henry VII, by Lord Hardwicke, the Lord Chancellor, Sir William Lee, L.C.J. of King's Bench, and Sir John Willes, L.C.J. Common Pleas.

The Bylaws of the Barber-Surgeons' Company had been revised in 1709 and formally approved by

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the Lord Chancellor and the two Lord Chief Justices in accordance with the Statute. These Bylaws were still in force at the time of the creation of the Surgeons' Company in 1745 and amplify the evidence given before the Parliamentary Committee.

The Surgeons' apprentices had to pass an examination in Latin at the Hall before they could be bound and a Master could not have more than three apprentices.

At the end of the seven years of servitude the apprentice had to appear before the Court of Examiners who were enjoined "to examine all such persons as for their own profit or gain shall profess or practise surgery within the City or compass of 7 miles." Surgery was defined to include "not only the external and actual practice thereof", but also

"the internal speculation of the natural causes and remedies of all manner of infirmities or diseases incident to the said practice and profession and of the natures and qualities of all manner of emplasters, ointments, medicaments, baths, waters, drugs and herbs pertaining thereunto."

The freemen of the Company on admission entered the yeomanry. The Court of Assistants could "elect from time to time such and so many fit and able persons of the yeomanry into the livery and clothing as they think fit." The fine on promotion

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to the livery was £10, but for refusal to accept the promotion it was £20.

The heavy fine for refusal was due to the fact that Members of the Company were obliged in their turn to perform certain duties from which they could escape only by payment. From the yeomanry each year were appointed six whiffers who "in decent and comely apparel with gilded chains and white staves" attended on the Master and Governors on Lord Mayor's day. The fine for not serving this office was 40s.

From the livery were appointed each year five stewards who had to provide the annual feast at their own expense. The fine for refusal to serve was twenty pounds.

The government of the Company was in the hands of the Court of Assistants consisting of fifteen Surgeons and fifteen Barbers, vacancies being filled by promotion from the livery in order of seniority.

The prime or chief Master or Governor and three other Masters or Governors were appointed each year on the third Thursday in August.

The method of election was peculiar. The liverymen, clad in gowns, hoods and caps, assembled in common hall at 8 a.m. and with the reigning Master, Wardens and Assistants, proceeded by a complicated system of balloting to appoint twelve electors who then elected the officers for the ensuing year. The chief Master was a Barber or a Surgeon in

THE RANBY CUP

Presented by John Ranby at the first
meeting of the Surgeons' Company, 1745.

(See page 71.)

THE MASTER'S CHAIR

This chair was purchased in 1754 for
£3 10s.

(See page 70.)

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(See page vi.)

meeting of the Surgeons' Company, 1742.
Presented by John Barry at the first

THE KAIIBY CUP

(See page vi.)

£3 10s.

This chair was purchased in 1724 for

THE MASTER'S CHAIR



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alternate years ; only two of the four officials could be approved Surgeons.

The permanent officials of the Company were a clerk and two beadles.

The Court of Examiners in Surgery consisted of ten members whose names are given in the revised Bylaws of 1709. They were appointed for life and vacancies were filled by the Court of Assistants from "the Masters assistants or freemen allowed and approved to practise surgery according to the laws of this realm."

None save the Court of Examiners were allowed to "examine and certify the sufficiency of any person in the art of Surgery" or "of such other surgeons who shall appear to be examined in order to their serving on board any ship in the service of Her Majesty."

Each examiner received 10s. 6d. for each grand diploma granted, but did not receive anything for the examination of the Sea-Surgeons. Every Surgeon was bound under a penalty of 40s. to call in consultation one of the ten examiners if any patient was in danger of death or of losing a limb.

This Bylaw must have made the office of Examiner financially attractive.

In addition the Bylaws contained some regulations with regard to professional etiquette and forbade "any barber or surgeon to keep two shops or to be in partnership with one who has a second shop."

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The Bylaws also ordered the Court to appoint Surgeons “to read lectures upon the principal elements and rudiments of the Art and Science of Surgery”—the fine for refusal being £5.

It does not appear that there was any practical difficulty in the management of their affairs by the Surgeons when they were still united with the Barbers. The desire for separate existence was based on the improved social status of the leading Surgeons and the objection of the rank and file to the expense involved by the civic functions and the charitable contributions, the greater part of which went to the support of needy Barbers.

The Barber-Surgeons' Company was an enrolled City Livery Company; its freemen were eligible for the freedom of the City and could practise their craft within the liberties.

By the Statute of Apprentices the freedom could be obtained only after seven years' apprenticeship¹ and by the Company's Charter of 1629 only after satisfying the Court of Examiners.

As a unit in the civic organisation the Company owed obedience to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen and was expected to send representatives on certain special occasions.

¹ At a later period doubt was expressed with regard to the relation of the Statute of Apprentices to the Surgeons seeing that the earlier Act of 1511, which required examination but said nothing about previous apprenticeship, had not been repealed.

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Its duty was to regulate the craft which it represented and its hereditie bade it dispense hospitality to its members and charity to those in need.

The Act of 1745 gave the new corporation the constitution of a City Livery Company and assumed that it would function as such ; but the policy of the leaders was to have as little to do with the City as possible.

Though the new Bylaws were formally approved in 1748 and were read to the Company at the Annual Dinner they were not printed until 1774.

The management of the Company was entrusted to three Governors and eighteen assistants. Of the Governors, who were appointed annually, one was Master and the other two Wardens. To form a Court two of the Governors and nine assistants were required ; there was no provision for deputies in the case of the enforced absence of the Governors.

This omission gave rise to difficulty later, and in 1796 was accepted as having caused the dissolution of the Company.

Membership of the Court of Assistants was a life appointment. Of the twenty-one assistants ten were selected to form a Court of Examiners who also held office for life.

The Master and Wardens were *ex officio* members of the Court of Examiners ; this Bylaw, except in the rare instance of a coincident vacancy in the Court of Examiners on election day, limited the

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selection of the Governors to the members of that Court and often to the smaller number who were able and willing to serve. Not infrequently the Master of one year became the under-Warden the next year and progressed through the offices once more.

Another Bylaw ordered that "principal sergeant-surgeons if not members of the Company shall be granted the diploma and if not members of the Court of Assistants or Examiners shall be elected to the next vacancy and shall be appointed Master at the next vacancy."

Obedience to the Bylaw was impossible if the vacancy was due to the death of an assistant who was not an examiner, seeing that the Court of Examiners was limited to ten members and that the Master was to be a member *ex officio*. However, the Bylaw was not altered until 1784.

Another Bylaw forbade the election to the Court of "anyone who practised as an Apothecary or followed any other trade or occupation besides the profession or business of a surgeon." This law placed the entire control of the Company in the hands of the Hospital Surgeons, seeing that all the other members were compelled to provide medicines for their patients and to practise midwifery in order to gain a livelihood.

In 1792 David Dundas, who practised as an Apothecary at Richmond, was appointed principal

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Sergeant-Surgeon in succession to Pennell Hawkins. The Court had to decide between the two Bylaws. As Sergeant-Surgeon he was to be elected Assistant, Examiner and Master ; as an Apothecary he was ineligible for any of these offices. The decision, taken by ballot, went against him. On being informed of the decision Dundas wrote to Lucas the Master, asking why he had not been elected. The clerk was instructed to reply that "the Court was of opinion that he was ineligible." Dundas' response is not recorded, but it is significant that the accounts show that "the clerk's charges for his trouble in managing the dispute with Dundas amounted to £7 18s. 8d."

When the Charter was granted to the Royal College of Surgeons in 1800 Dundas was named as one of the assistants ; he joined the Court of Examiners in the following year and was elected Master in 1804.

Apprenticeship was still required under the Elizabethan Act and a Bylaw ordained that evidence of a knowledge of Latin was required from apprentices bound at the Hall. There are two instances in the records showing that this Bylaw was enforced.

In 1759 Richard Guy, a freeman of the Company, wished to take as his apprentice his son Melmoth, aged fifteen. The boy was found to be ignorant of Latin and the Court refused to bind him.

His father applied for a mandamus in the King's

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Bench and this was issued—*Rex v. Master and Wardens of the Company of Surgeons* 33, Geo. II—Lord Mansfield heard the case and the return of the Company was allowed. All the facts were admitted, but the Bylaw duly approved in accordance with the law was quoted in justification and Nourse stated that he had examined Melmoth Guy and found him totally ignorant of Latin.

In 1763 the son of Robert Brooks was refused for the same reason.

The fee for binding at the Hall, which had to take place before two of the Governors, was 2 guineas until 1766, when it was raised to 3 guineas, for turning over to another Master, 1 guinea, and for freedom after servitude, £21 2s. 6d., or on the new scale, £23 4s. 6d. The freedom by redemption cost £4 4s. more than that after servitude.

Apprenticeship soon ceased to be a common mode of entering the profession; it was easier, quicker and cheaper to join one of the services for a short time and then to retire and settle in civilian practice free from the control of the Surgeons' Company.

Some few of the more ambitious were bound to Hospital Surgeons, partly because as favoured pupils they had special opportunities for gaining professional knowledge and partly because such apprenticeship often carried with it the reversion of a hospital appointment.

The premium paid to the Master when an

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apprentice was bound to him varied considerably ; often it was waived. In 1798, when Goldwyer Andrews was bound to Blizzard, the consideration was £500. He was appointed Surgeon to the London Hospital when Thomas Blizzard resigned in 1816.

Though apprenticeship was recognised as the approved method of entering the profession of Surgery, yet the Court of Examiners do not seem to have insisted on evidence of service for the full term of seven years. They read the Act as requiring examination only as a qualification for the diploma. This view was supported by the opinion of T. Erskine in 1781 who held that the Statute of apprentices did not apply to Surgeons who were regulated by the Act of 1511.

The less ambitious and the dishonest could set up in practice without any let or hindrance, even if they had not received any training, seeing that the Act had not given the new Company the coercive powers granted by the Charter of 1629 to the old joint Company.

The Act and the Bylaws assumed that the corporate property belonged to the Company as a whole and that while minor affairs could be managed by the Court of Assistants, major financial changes required the sanction of the general body of members.

The clerk's salary was fixed at £60 per annum

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and any additional gratuity was not to exceed £40 ; the beadle was to be paid £20 per annum and his gratuities were to be limited to £10. Changes in these amounts were to be made only “ with the consent of a majority of the whole Company who shall attend at any court.”

Gunning in his Phillipic of 1791 vigorously denounced the persistent evasion of this Bylaw.

Another Bylaw fixed the quarterage at 10s or for foreign brothers at 20s. per annum

“ with power to increase to 40s. provided that the majority of a general court of the whole company consent thereto, until the theatre and other new intended buildings for the use of the said Company are erected finished and paid for and after such buildings are entirely completed and paid for such yearly sums or such quarterage only if any shall be paid as shall be settled and agreed to by the majority of a general Court to be summoned for that purpose.”

The records of the Company show that the whole Company was convened to consider financial matters on only two occasions, once in 1766 to authorise the raising of the quarterage to 16s. per annum and once in 1784 to reduce it to 10s. per annum, when the building debt had at last been extinguished.

It was a matter of adverse comment that the Hall was sold in 1796 and the house in Lincoln's Inn

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Fields bought without consultation with the general body of members.

On comparing the Bylaws of 1748 with those of the united Company some noteworthy omissions can be recognised.

The old Bylaws distinguished two grades of free-men—yeomen and liverymen. In accordance with the old custom, at the first meeting of the new Company John Westbrook was admitted to the freedom of servitude, and on the same day elected into the Livery. The new Bylaws did not make mention of a livery and there is no further reference to this grade. The right of a City Company to have a livery is granted by the Court of Aldermen; the Surgeons were anxious “to be exempt from any power of the Lord Mayor,” and took the doubt expressed by Erskine as an excuse to avoid performance of any civic functions.

Unlike those of other City Companies the Bylaws did not make provision for the appointment of stewards or gentlemen ushers or whiffers for Lord Mayor’s day.

In 1758 the beadle was definitely forbidden to attend at the Guildhall or St. Paul’s on the occasions when the City Companies were expected to be represented officially. In the lists of liverymen entitled to the Parliamentary vote only the names of those Surgeons who were liverymen of the joint Company are to be found.

**C.A. Min.,
Aug. 8, 1758.**

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In 1777 Counsel's opinion was sought whether the Surgeons were entitled to a parliamentary vote in the City seeing that theirs was not a livery company. J. Glynn thought that the Surgeons were entitled to a vote only if they had been liverymen of the joint Company ; though even with them the method of taking the vote in the City introduced a difficulty.

**Glynn's
Opinion,
Nov. 15,
1777.**

The old Bylaw requiring members to call in consultation one of the examiners in serious cases was not re-enacted, probably because it would have offended many of the able "foreigners" who, it was hoped, would join the Company.

Some of the hospitals had hitherto been compelled to appoint "Surgeons extraordinary"¹ if they did not have an examiner on the surgical staff. This was henceforth unnecessary.

The rule preventing dissection elsewhere than at the Hall was allowed to lapse and private schools of anatomy were thus enabled to develop.

The effect of the Bylaws was to establish an aristocratic form of government on which the rank and file of the Company had no representation. In practice the restriction of representation was carried even further, the effective control passed into the hands of the Court of Examiners, whose time and

¹ William Petty was appointed Surgeon-Extraordinary to the London Hospital in 1743, John Harrison, the Surgeon, not being an examiner.

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energy were so fully occupied with their official duties that they could not raise enthusiasm for the development of activities other than those concerned with examining and the granting of certificates and diplomas.

In a like manner the College of Physicians left the organisation of courses of instruction in medicine to private enterprise.

The doctrine that if care was taken of examination education could take care of itself thus adopted persisted almost throughout the nineteenth century and was abandoned by the London University only at the reorganisation of 1900.

CHAPTER IV

The Surgeons' Hall

IN MARCH, 1745, WHILE THEIR BILL WAS STILL IN Parliament the Surgeons were seeking a site for their Hall.

At first it was suggested that four houses on the east side of Old Bailey, of which the leases were about to expire, should be taken, but it was found that the frontage was only 70 feet whereas their ambition envisaged 150 feet. The City was the Ground Landlord, and when negotiations with the Lands Committee began it was found that the City owned the remaining houses in the Old Bailey down to Ludgate Hill and was willing to grant a building lease of a frontage of 154 feet. The business went forward smoothly, and was doubtless facilitated by the fact that Christopher Fullager, a member of the Court of Assistants, was also a common councillor and a member of the City Lands Committee.

The site lay just south of Newgate and ran back for 90 feet to London Wall which still stood. On the land there were some thirteen houses, several of which were unoccupied and all were in a bad state

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THE LISTENER

TO THE EDITOR

Whilst reading the undermentioned book for review, I noticed the following misprints or mistakes which seem to be of sufficient importance to justify informing the publisher in case the book is reprinted.

BOOK :

PUBLISHER :

ERRATA

Note: This is intended to make it unnecessary for the reviewer to draw attention to unimportant mistakes in writing his review.

THE SURGEONS' HALL

of repair. A lease was granted for a hundred years from Midsummer, 1751, at a rent of a peppercorn for the first year and £60 per annum afterwards.

The value of the old materials in the houses to be demolished was estimated at £200 and the Company paid this sum as a fine. When the materials were sold in 1750 they brought £148 10s.

The Company secured possession of the site early in 1747, having bought out three tenants whose leases had not expired.

William Kent was then appointed to be the architect, but when he produced his plans the cost was estimated at £10,000, a sum altogether beyond the Company's means.

Kent received a fee of 60 guineas, but a Mr. Jones was appointed surveyor with James Scott as the builder, the estimate for the proposed structure being £3555. Repute says that Cheselden helped in the design, but the minutes do not mention his name in this connection. In 1749 George Dance was paid 45 guineas for drawing, but the nature of this work is not recorded.

To defray the cost, a loan of £4000 was raised by issuing bonds of £100 with 4 per cent interest. Every member of the Company was to have an equal right to subscribe for these bonds, but apparently they were all taken up by a few members of the Court.

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The Hall was not a very imposing structure ; it was situated on the east side of the Old Bailey to which it had a frontage of 80 feet. Maitland's *History of London* (1756) gives an illustration of the façade which is described as follows by Noorthouck in his *London* (1773): " The front of the Hall has a basement story with square windows and there is an ascent to the principal floor by a double flight of steps between which below is a door level with the ground for the conveniency of bringing in dead bodies after execution at Tyburn, for dissection. At the height of the steps is a range of Ionic pilasters between the windows of which there are two series, a story of large ones with square ones over them. The entablature of the pilasters supports a plain attic course crowned with vases." With regard to the door below the steps Pennant remarks that it was " for the admission of the bodies of murderers and other felons who, noxious in their lives, make a sort of reparation to their fellow creatures by becoming useful after death."

The internal accommodation included a lecture theatre, octagon in shape, with niches intended for the skeletons of notorious criminals, a library, a court-room, a hall for the general meetings and accommodation for the clerk.

The intention of the designers evidently was to provide a livery hall for a City Company and at the same time a central institute for the study of

THE SURGEONS' HALL

anatomy, but the original intention was never fulfilled.

In 1790 Gunning, addressing the Court, said :

“ Your theatre is without lectures, your library without books and is converted into an office for your clerk and your committee-room is become his eating parlour and is not always used even in your own common business and when it is thus made use of it is seldom in a fit and proper state—if it is to be converted into an eating parlour why should we not eat in it ourselves ? Your dinners at the Tavern are exceedingly inconvenient and expensive and attended with great loss of time.”

The building did not cover the whole of the ground which had been acquired ; there was a small garden
C.A. Min., for the clerk and some spare ground
Aug. 19, 1755. which was let to a Mr. Clarke for sixty-one years from Ladyday, 1754.

In 1767 Thomas Flight informed the Company that he contemplated buying the remainder of
C.A. Min., Clarke's lease if they would allow him
Jan. 8, 1767. to take a small part at the north end of their garden on lease for a like term for a cartway from the Old Bailey to the Oxford Arms in Warwick Lane ; if leave was granted he offered

“ to make a door in the wall (i.e. City Wall) for the Company's use and promised not to build his

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houses on the land he had lately taken from the City on the south side of the Hall so far back as to darken the kitchen or rooms over it of the Hall which front to the South."

The Court granted his request on condition that the houses were completed according to the plan he had produced and that he gave security for the return of the land if it was wanted for Newgate Gaol or any other public purpose. Toll was not to be taken from persons or carriages using the cartway.

In the following year the Company was informed that the land would be required for the rebuilding of Newgate and consequently ordered it to be valued.

**C.A. Min.,
July 7, 1768.**

Richard Jupp and Thomas Flight assessed the value of the land and houses belonging to the Company and required by the City Lands Committee at £950, and for this sum the land was sold, but there was not any reduction of the ground rent of the remainder of the site occupied by the Company.

**ib.,
Aug. 4.**

The City Lands Committee minutes record that the land thus bought back had a frontage to the Old Bailey of 62 feet. The original frontage of the Company's land measured 154 feet; the frontage of the Hall is said to have been 80 feet. Thus a passage-way 12 feet wide was left

1769.

THE SURGEONS' HALL

between the Hall and the Sessions House when it was built.

In 1783 the City wished to make an iron gate at the entrance to the passage between the Theatre and the Sessions House and to roof it as far as the first door into the Sessions House.

**C.A. Min.,
Jan. 2-16,
1783.**

Mr. Hurford, a member of the Newgate Committee, came to the Court with Mr. Peacock, the partner of Mr. Dance, the City Surveyor; the proposals were explained and the execution was to be at the expense of the City.

The Court agreed at once.

In 1792 the Court was informed that a building was being erected between the Theatre and the Sessions House which seemed to encroach upon the Company's land. Jupp, the Surveyor who had been employed in 1768 to value the land surrendered to the City, gave his opinion that there had been an infringement of the Company's property, as one-half of the passage between the Theatre and the Sessions House belonged to it.

**ib.,
Sept. 19, 1792.**

A protest was lodged with the City Lands Committee. The Comptroller came to the Court and explained that the intended building was for the accommodation of the judges; they had not known that it was on the Company's ground and hoped that the Company would accept some compensation or satisfaction.

**ib.,
Oct. 4., 1792.**

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The resolution of the Court was not accommodating :

“ The Court will not accept of any compensation or satisfaction from the City, but insist that the building shall be taken down and that unless the City take it down this Court will order the columns which stand upon the Company's ground to be taken away.”

The building was removed promptly. Baldwin and Jupp each received ten guineas for their advice

and the clerk was instructed to claim
ib.,
Jan. 3, 1793. repayment of expenses from the City.

The minutes of the City Lands Committee record that the building was for a retiring-room for the judges and consisted of a small room

over the passage between the Sessions
Aug., 1792. House and the north end of the Surgeons' Hall.

On the receipt of the Surgeons' ultimatum Dance offered to take down the building at his own expense.

Okey Belfour the clerk presented to the Lands Committee a bill of costs for £37 5s. 10d. which was ordered to lie on the table.

The minutes indicate that the Comptroller thought that he had been treated with scant courtesy when he attended the Court meeting.

The Company's minutes record apparently as surprising that the City had not replied to the

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request for expenses though five months had elapsed.

It is difficult to form an estimate of the cost of the Hall; the £4000 loan was temporarily invested in India bonds and portions were sold as required to pay the various contractors. The £510 paid over by the Barbers was treated as corporate income and, together with the earnings of the Court of Examiners and the members' quarterage and fines, used to defray current expenses.

In July, 1755, after the final payment to the builder and architect had been made, the cash balance left in the Company's chest was £5 5s. 8d. All the India bonds had been sold and there was a debt of £4000 owing to members and carrying interest at 4 per cent.

The premises had been insured for £4000, and this sum indicates their assumed value.

Of the internal decorations of the Hall apart from the skeletons, there are but few records.

Skeletons.

The skeletons of Thomas Wilford, Branch and Discent were prepared and mounted in the niches in 1752 at the cost of £8 6s.

In 1754 Abraham Ward's skeleton cost £2 10s.

In 1761 ten guineas were spent in repairing the skeletons.

Mrs. Brownrigg's skeleton was bought in 1768

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for £2 18s., and in 1769 2s. 6d. was paid for “ painting Mrs. Brownrigg’s name under her.”

In 1772 the Jew doctor’s skeleton was acquired, and in 1786 that of “ John Hogan the black.”

Furniture.

The records of the purchase of furniture are very scanty.

In 1754 a great chair for the Master was bought for £3 10s.

In 1787 Mr. Mitford received £5 5s. for painting the Company’s arms.

It seems probable that Mitford’s task was to decorate the Master’s chair, which is now in the possession of the College and bears the Company’s arms upon the back.

With regard to the arms it does not appear that the Company ever sought or obtained a grant of arms nor is there any reference to the purchase of a seal.

In 1779 Cruttenden was instructed to buy a carpet for the Committee room, and in the following year after his departure the furniture in the room next the Committee room was bought from him for £42.

In 1765 Grignon was paid £25 for the Committee-room clock, and in 1787 a table clock was bought for £5 5s.

In 1766 a ballot-box was bought.

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Pictures.

In 1757 Mr. Tenty presented four large, coloured anatomical prints framed and glazed.

In 1766 Mr. Hooper, one of the Commissioners of Customs, gave an original portrait of Cowper the anatomist.

In 1773 Wentworth Ogle presented a portrait of "Mr. Harvey," and in 1785 Henry Watson that of John Belchier.

A portrait of David Middleton was given by Gunning in 1789.

In 1786 the Company bought the cartoon of Holbein's picture of Henry VIII granting the Charter to the Barber-Surgeons' Company, for the sum of 50 guineas. It was cleaned and repaired by a Mr. Lloyd who, in 1789, asked £400 for his work. The Court offered him 50 guineas which he accepted. A full account of this picture was given by Mr. C. J. S. Thompson, M.B.E., in the *British Medical Journal* for 6th October, 1934, p. 651.

Plate.

The custom of presenting plate to the Company was never established, though at the first meeting Ranby gave the handsome silver cup which is still in the possession of the College.

Library.

At no time was any attempt made to form a

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library. Authors occasionally gave copies of their works : for instance, John Hunter in 1786 gave *The Natural History of the Human Teeth* and his treatise on venereal disease, and in 1787 "his latest publication."

In 1762 Dr. Ball presented his *Modern Practice of Physic* and his *Pharmacopœia Domestica*.

In 1787 the College of Physicians sent two copies of their new Dispensatory.

In 1791 Earle gave his treatise on Hydrocele.

In 1794 Abernethy presented his *Surgical and Physiological Essays* and three engravings of Lithotomy, Ford his *Diseases of the Hip Joint* and John Howard his *Venereal Disease*.

In 1795 Home gave Hunter's *Blood, Inflammation and Gunshot Wounds*, and Dr. Underwood his *Diseases of Children*.

Throughout the history of the Company the Hall was used almost exclusively for the organisation and conduct of the examinations and as the residence of the Clerk. This result followed inevitably when the supreme control was entrusted to a body of eminent but old and busy Examiners.

Gunning's idealism led him to lament the absence of educational, social and charitable activities usually associated with a craft guild, but was insufficient to make him do more than offer criticism and advice and failed to stir the activity of his fellow-examiners.

CHAPTER V

Court Meetings, Guild Privileges and Obligations

ON 1ST AUGUST, 1751, THE COURT MET FOR THE first time at the new Theatre, and in 1753 Joseph Cruttenden, the Clerk, took up his permanent residence on the premises.

At first the whole Court had met every month, and those who were not examiners withdrew early so that the examinations might be held. In 1748 it was ordered that the examiners should meet monthly, but the full Court only when summoned.

At a later date the full Court was convened quarterly to receive the accounts, but the conduct of the affairs of the Company passed entirely into the hands of the examiners.

In most City Companies representation of the Commonalty in the government was to some extent secured by the promotion by seniority of members of the Livery to the Court of Assistants as vacancies occurred. It was also the custom when important matters came up for discussion for the members to assemble in Common Hall.

In the Surgeons' Company the excluding Bylaw restricted the membership of the Court to "pure "

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Surgeons, and on only two occasions was the general body called together, once in 1766 to authorise the raising of the quarterage and once in 1784, after the redemption of the bonds, for its reduction.

The meeting of 1784 was the last occasion on which all the members were summoned to ratify an important decision ; at that meeting Henry Watson, who was in the Chair, announced that the Bylaws forbade any contribution from the corporate funds towards the cost of the Annual Dinner. The price of the dinner tickets was raised to 10s. 6d., and this was supposed to cover the cost, but in a very few years was found to be insufficient ; the Company as of old made a large contribution.

The subsidised Annual Dinner seems to have prevented open expression by the members of discontent at the small return they got for the fines and quarterage they were forced to pay.

The examiners themselves were satisfied with the comparatively small fees they received, provided that at their meetings they were sumptuously fed.

When Gunning became Master in 1790, filled with a reformer's zeal, he made a violent attack on all the abuses that obtained : the great expense of the dinners, the perquisites of the Clerk and Beadle, the failure to provide lectures or to create a library and the inefficient system of account-keeping all met his condemnation. He drew up an elaborate scheme of reform which was adopted on paper, but as it involved

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increased work and less reward for those concerned it was not carried into practice except by the permanent officials who could not object.

The chief function of the full Court was the election of officers which took place by order of the Statute on the first Thursday in July of each year.

It has been pointed out that in consequence of the Bylaws the Master and Wardens had to be selected almost always from the Court of Examiners. The anatomical officers were selected from the general body of members, generally in order of seniority.

At the quarterly Courts a statement of the financial position was received and questions of major importance were from time to time discussed, but in practice the control of the Company's affairs was in the hands of the Court of Examiners.

In 1756 the Clerk was ordered to read the Bylaws to the members before the Annual Dinner; in 1773 they were ordered to be printed and copies were sold to members for 1s. In 1778 a new edition was ordered. In 1782, in consequence of Okey Belfour's discovery that many of the Company's activities since 1766 were illegal, the Bylaws were revised, submitted for legal approval and 1500 copies were printed for circulation amongst the members.

The laxity in observance of the Bylaws was exemplified on election day in 1761. Nourse, the Master, had died, Girle, the upper-Warden, was ill, and John Townsend, the under-Warden, was

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the only Governor present ; the Act ordered that two of the three Governors must be present to form a Court. In spite of the irregularity the election proceeded as usual. David Middleton, recently appointed principal Sergeant-Surgeon to the King, who had been an assistant since 1751, was elected Master and all the other offices were filled. A similar failure to form a Court occurred in 1796 and was then held to have caused the dissolution of the Company.

In 1784 neither Warden was present when the Court met, the Company adjourned to the Shakespeare Tavern in Covent Garden and the Beadle was sent to find a Warden. When he arrived the Court was held at the tavern.

The breach of the Bylaws in 1766 in connection with the appointment of a Professor of Anatomy and the revision of the examination fees will be described in connection with the educational activities of the Company.

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Though the Surgeons disliked the idea of being a City Company they were loth to abandon all the privileges conferred by such a constitution. One right which they maintained jealously was the exaction of a fine from any member who desired disfranchisement. Many examples are recorded in the minutes, but that of William Hunter affords the greatest interest.

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In 1749 he had obtained the Grand diploma of the Company and been appointed Surgeon *accoucheur* to the British Lying-in Hospital. In 1750 Glasgow University had conferred on him the degree of M.D., and in 1753 he had been Master of Anatomy to the Company. In 1756 he obtained the licence of the College of Physicians and sought disfranchisement ; this was granted and a fine of 40 guineas was exacted. It was then found that he had obtained the licence of the College without the previous consent of the Company ; a further fine of 20 guineas was imposed. Two years later Sainthill, who had collected this second fine, pointed out that Hunter was ignorant of the Bylaw under which he had been fined and in these circumstances the Court instructed Sainthill to return the money.

The College of Physicians required evidence of disfranchisement from the Company before granting a licence to practise Medicine and there are many instances¹ in which it was granted and the fine exacted. The legality of this fine was never tested, but Le Blanc in 1785, in giving his opinion with regard to the Osborne case, pointed out that the King's Bench had held recently that the licentiates of the College were not members, and added that since the College of Physicians was not a City Company Osborne would not have incurred the penalty even if he had become a member of the College.

¹ See Appendix 5.

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The Company had demanded a penalty of £20 from Osborne because he had not obtained the leave of the Company to seek the licence of the College to practise Midwifery. It seems that the College had not required Osborne's disfranchisement from the Surgeons' Company.

**Cf., The
Company &
Midwifery.**

Towards the end of the century there were several instances in which Surgeons sought permission to join the Society of Apothecaries presumably because of the privileges attaching to membership of the trading stocks. Permission was granted readily and the only fine asked was a contribution of a guinea to the poor box.

Joseph Hurlock for instance, a freeman of the Surgeons' Company, was allowed to join the Apothecaries in 1784. In 1795 and 1796 he held the surgical anatomical offices and in 1829 became Master of the Apothecaries.

The policy of the Surgeons was to disclaim connection with the City and consequently they did not object to the members joining a City Company. In the case submitted to Le Blanc in 1785 for his opinion the following expression is used: "The College of Physicians has no connection with the City in its corporate capacity nor has the Surgeons' Company."

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The older City Livery Companies developed from

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mutual benefit societies which gradually acquired the right to regulate the craft which most of their members practised. The Surgeons' Company began as a craft guild and showed but little inclination toward the charitable activities which the older corporations considered to be an inherited privilege and duty. References to charitable grants in the earlier years of the Company's history are few and far between. In 1756 Legard Sparham died; he was an original member of the Court but apparently was not prosperous. After his death the Court granted his widow 5 guineas from the poor box.

In 1781 a grant of £100 was made to the fund for the victims of the hurricane in the West Indies, and in 1783 the Court granted £50 toward the relief of the sufferers by the late fire at Potten in Bedfordshire. In 1786 a public subscription had been raised for the wife and six children of a Surgeon and Apothecary named Burt of Godstone in Surrey who had been murdered. The Court of Examiners had granted 20 guineas and asked the Court of Assistants to ratify their action. On the same day the Court granted 20 guineas to the widow of John Row, a member who had died insolvent. These grants exhausted the poor box and a resolution was passed that the Master and Wardens were to make up any deficiency required for grants and pensions out of the Company's funds.

The first recorded grant of a pension was in 1789

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when Mrs. Theodore Honley the widow of a member in great distress was granted 10 guineas out of the poor box and an annuity of 8 guineas during the pleasure of the Court.

In 1790 Gunning in his Phillipic pointed out the smallness of the charitable grants and suggested that £80 per annum should be earmarked for the widows and children of Surgeons ; his suggestion however was not accepted, though for the remaining years of the century charitable grants were more numerous and larger than formerly ; for instance in 1791 John Townsend a very old member was granted 5 guineas a quarter for the rest of his life ; he died in 1795 and the Court then granted his widow an annuity of 12 guineas as her total income was only £40 a year.

Other grants were made, but the charity seems to have been spasmodic and there was never an attempt to create an endowed charitable fund as was customary with City Companies.

An anonymous letter addressed to the Court of Assistants and published in 1776 maintained that there was an urgent need of a charitable fund to support the widows and children of members.

CHAPTER VI

Surgical Education in the Eighteenth Century

THE STATUTE OF APPRENTICES (5 ELIZABETH) was still in force and required seven years' servitude before freedom was granted to practise any craft or trade. In London the civic regulations restricted the exercise of any craft or trade to freemen of the City.

Freemen of a City Company were entitled to the freedom of the City, and if the Company's freedom had been obtained by servitude to a member, they were entitled to practise their special craft within the liberties of the City. The regular procedure therefore for those wishing to practise as Surgeons began with the binding of the apprentice to a freeman of the Surgeons' Company. The Company's Bylaws required evidence of a knowledge of Latin by the apprentice before he was bound and the passing of an Examination before the freedom was granted.

The observance of the law and of the City's regulations became lax after the Act constituting the Surgeons' Company was passed in 1745.

The Act entitled those who had satisfied the Court of Examiners to practise without let or hindrance

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anywhere in England and did not specifically require apprenticeship or refer to the Statute of Apprentices.

As soon as the Company was constituted many "foreigners" who were practising Surgery in London were admitted to its freedom without enquiry as to their previous apprenticeship.

In 1749 Surgeons retired from the Army or Navy
22 Geo. II, were given freedom for civilian practice
c. 44. by Parliament and were exempted specifically from the requirements of the Statute of Apprentices.

It thus became impossible to ensure rigid adhesion to the system of education by apprenticeship though it was still considered to present great advantages.

Apart from apprenticeship, professional education could be obtained at the private schools in London or at the schools established in Edinburgh and Dublin and at the London hospitals.

The system of surgical education at the hospitals which obtained in the eighteenth century is described in a letter¹ written by Joseph Warner to Gunning in 1792 at the time of John Hunter's dispute with his colleagues.

Warner, who was appointed Surgeon to Guy's in 1745, said that he had been acquainted with the procedure since 1734. He described three classes

¹ Quoted in Wilks & Bettany, *History of Guy's Hospital*, p. 88.

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of students—apprentices, dressers and hospital pupils.

The apprentices and dressers were attached to particular Surgeons ; the apprentices were bound to the Surgeons for a term of years, the binding fee being a matter of private arrangement.

The dressers were attached to the Surgeons for a shorter period, paying to them 30 guineas for six months or £50 for a year ; presumably the dressers had served their apprenticeship elsewhere.

Each Surgeon could introduce to the hospital four such students, either apprentices or dressers, but not more than four.

The apprentices or dressers acted as assistants to the Surgeons to whom they were attached.

“ When any accident was brought in the surgeon whose week it was received notice and according to the nature of such accident either went immediately or trusted the management of it to the dresser who was waiting there.”

The hospital pupils were not limited in number nor were they attached to any particular Surgeons.

They had to produce evidence of having served a five years' apprenticeship and to pay a fee of 18 guineas for six months or 24 guineas for a year. These fees were pooled and divided between the six Surgeons and two Apothecaries of the joint hospitals of St. Thomas' and Guy's.

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The pupils were entitled to attend all operations and visits to the wards but "their business was only to look on and make such enquiry as they chose of the surgeon who was attending."

Each Surgeon attended once a week from 11 a.m. to about 1.30 p.m. so that the pupils were able to attend the practice of all the Surgeons.

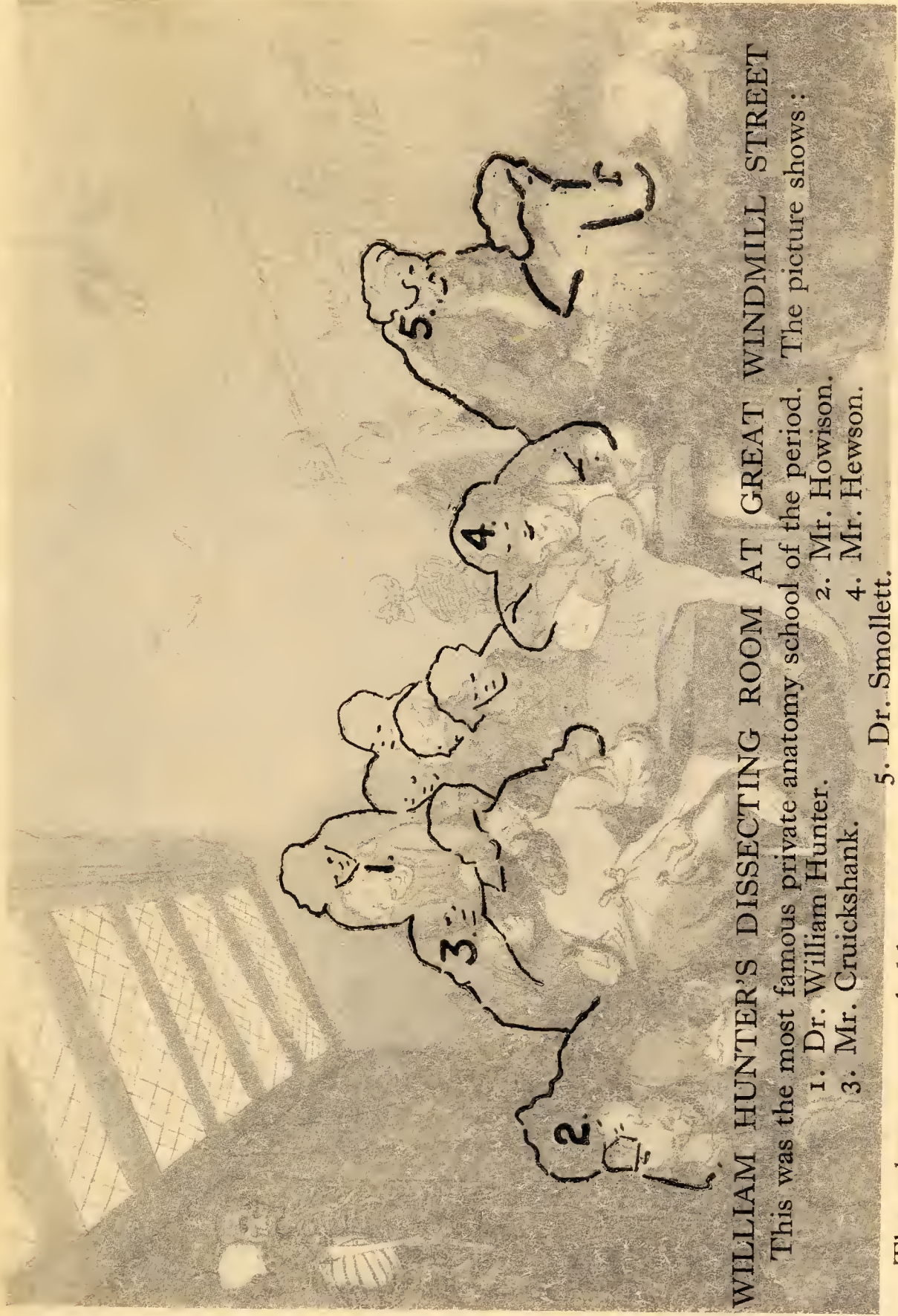
Each pupil at the end of his term was entitled to a certificate signed by all the Surgeons of the two hospitals.

In addition to the hospital practice lectures were given for which additional fees were charged. Anatomy lectures 7 guineas, Dissecting room 5 guineas, Chemistry, Materia Medica and the practice of physic 10 guineas. (Surgical lectures were included in the anatomical course.)

Teaching of a similar nature and presumably on similar terms was provided at the other hospitals. In these circumstances the lack of enthusiasm for gratuitous teaching at the Hall is explicable seeing that most members of the Court were hospital Surgeons.

It is not easy to understand why it was left to the Apothecaries in 1815 to make attendance at courses of instruction compulsory for candidates seeking a diploma or the vigorous denunciation of this requirement by Wakley in the *Lancet*.

The education in the eighteenth century of a Surgeon with some ambition probably did not differ



WILLIAM HUNTER'S DISSECTING ROOM AT GREAT WINDMILL STREET

This was the most famous private anatomy school of the period. The picture shows:

- 1. Dr. William Hunter.
- 2. Mr. Howison.
- 3. Mr. Cruickshank.
- 4. Mr. Hewson.
- 5. Dr. Smollett.

The others are probably meant to be Pitcairn, Baillie, Howe, Sheldon, Camper, etc.
(See page 86.)

Reproduced by permission from a coloured print after Rowlandson's cartoon in the possession of the Royal Society of Medicine.

Reproduced by permission from a coloured print after Rowlandson's cartoon in the possession of the Royal Society of Medicine.
(See page 80.)

The others are probably meant to be Pictorin, Baillie, Howe, Sheldon, Crampton, etc.

2. Dr. Smollett.

3. Mr. Cruickshank.

1. Dr. William Hunter.

4. Mr. Hewson.

5. Mr. Howison.

This was the most famous private anatomy school of the period. The picture shows :

WILLIAM HUNTER'S DISSECTING ROOM AT GREAT WINDMILL STREET





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much from the course followed in the early years of the nineteenth century.

In an action for slander—Fairchild *v.* Grabham—at the Chelmsford sessions in 1819 Fairchild proved by evidence the details of his training. He had been apprenticed in 1805 to Thomas Jackson, a Surgeon Apothecary and man midwife ; in 1809 he had come to London and for nearly two years acted as assistant to William Starr, a Surgeon Apothecary of Smithfield Bars. In 1811 and 1812 he attended Dr. Squire's lectures on midwifery and a course of practical midwifery and was granted a certificate of proficiency by Dr. Squire in 1812. In the same years he attended Lynn's practice and Anthony Carlisle's lectures on Surgery at the Westminster Hospital for six months and received a certificate. He also attended two courses of lectures on Anatomy, Physiology and Surgery given by Joshua Brooks at Blenheim Street for eight months and two courses of lectures given by Dr. Tuthill of Soho Square on Pathology, the practice of Physic, Chemistry and Materia Medica.

He had completed his course and been granted all his certificates in 1812.

He did not seek the Diploma of the College of Surgeons because it was not necessary for country practice.

Those who had granted the certificates gave evidence in Court and were cross-examined.

Carlisle for instance admitted that it was usual

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“ to walk the hospital ” for twelve months¹ but said that “ it was better to walk the hospital in a diligent way for six months than for twelve months in the usual way.”

The judge in his summing up alluded to the course pursued by the eminent witnesses in giving their certificates and added : “ A notion has, I believe, been prevalent that they are given as a matter of form and it is most satisfactory to learn that this is not the case.”

.

Private schools of Anatomy flourished after the removal of the ban on private dissection in 1745. Fortunately there are in existence many manuscript reports of the lectures delivered at the most famous of these Schools which was established by William Hunter in 1746.

In the library of the Society of Apothecaries there are three volumes of these lectures. As he is described as Dr. Hunter they must have been delivered after 1750 when he became M.D. Glasgow.

Internal evidence seems to show that the course reported was the one advertised in the *London Evening Post* to begin on September 1st, 1764, when Hewson on his return from Edinburgh entered into partnership with Hunter and gave the lectures on the blood vessels.

¹ Until 1812 the college required only 6 months' hospital practice.

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The introductory lecture gives an interesting note about William's advice to John in 1748.

“ When my brother first came to London as he proposed to be an anatomist I persuaded him not to read any author or examine any plates of the anatomical kind till he had attended a course of lectures and seen a human dissection.”

The textbooks recommended to the students were Cheselden's and Keill's anatomy, and Heister's compendium. Hunter preferred the last which had recently been translated into English (1732).

For a large book he recommended Winslow (second English translation 1743) and for physiology Haller (first lines 1747). For special subjects he recommended Monro on the bones (4th edition 1746), and Douglas on the muscles.

He began by giving a series of general lectures followed by lectures on bones, muscles, internal organs, organs of generation, special sense organs, blood vessels, nerves and the gravid uterus, followed by a series on Surgery, all of which were demonstrated by dissection. Finally he gave demonstrations of bandaging on a dummy.

The lectures were essentially practical and though he sought a mechanical explanation for all physiological processes he emphasised the uncertainty of existing hypotheses. For instance, with regard to respiration he says : “It is not certainly known

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what the lungs do to the blood. Boerhaave supposes that they churn and mix the blood and chyle together."

He was very emphatic upon the value of post-mortem examinations.

"Opening dead bodies is often necessary in case of suspicious deaths and nothing has given greater light to Physic than performing this upon morbid bodies and certainly it is of great use in case of uncommon symptoms and it must be greatly satisfactory to a physician to find his ideas formed from the complaint while living to be just."

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Surgeons attached to hospitals and some few others could to some extent limit their practice to what they were pleased to call pure Surgery; the rank and file of the profession had to extend their activities in order to gain a livelihood.

Venesection was one of the chief sources of income and was practised freely both by the skilled and the unskilled. Sir Cæsar Hawkins is said to have made £1000 a year by bleeding alone and presumably was an expert. On the other hand the following extract from *The London Tradesman* (1757) suggests frequent abuse.

"I own I cannot understand the connection there is between a barber and a surgeon nor can

SURGICAL EDUCATION IN 18TH CENTURY

I too much condemn the folks of trusting those bunglers to perform one of the nicest, though common, operations in surgery. I never saw a good surgeon but was under some apprehension when he was about to let blood ; yet these fellows for three pence breathe a vein at random without the least hesitation or the smallest notion of the danger of a miscarriage. They use lancets which ought more properly be termed fleams ; and if they miss to prick an artery every time they let blood, it is more owing to chance than any precaution of theirs. When we consider that such an accident may happen to the most skilful surgeon and consequently that the ignorant barber is much more liable and is utterly incapable to remedy the mischief when done, I apprehend it is a degree of madness to trust them upon any consideration.”

The Company had not been given any coercive powers and was unable to check the Barbers who competed directly with the Surgeons.

Black, in his *Sketch of Medicine and Surgery* (1782), pointed out that in the Army, Navy and in civil practice the same person commonly officiated as Physician, Surgeon and Apothecary. After quoting Stahl as saying that Surgeons, and still more Barbers, should not be allowed to administer mercury internally to excite a salivation, he commented “ that

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if such interdiction prevailed in England the majority of our Surgeons would soon be bankrupt."

It is abundantly clear from the literature of the period that the ordinary Surgeon could not make a living if he confined his activities to the treatment of external diseases and accidents. He was compelled to treat internal diseases, to keep a shop and to sell drugs and to practise midwifery though at the best his training had been in Anatomy and Surgery alone.

Black could justly claim that the state of affairs called loudly for Parliamentary investigation.

CHAPTER VII

The Teaching of Anatomy at Surgeons' Hall

THE MONTHLY EXAMINATIONS WERE HELD REGULARLY after the separation from the Barbers, but the anatomical lectures and demonstrations were suspended pending the building of the new Hall.

The first Court of Assistants was held at the new Hall in August, 1751, but it was not until 1753 that any steps were taken to provide anatomical teaching.

The old Bylaw of 1566 which forbade anatomical dissection elsewhere than at the Hall had not been re-enacted by the new Company and consequently the establishment of private schools of Anatomy became possible.

Peachey, in his *Life of the Hunters*, quoting from the *Westminster Journal* for 20th December, 1746, shows that there were then at least five or six lectures on Anatomy given each night in London during the winter session.

In this year William Hunter took over Samuel Sharpe's lectures to the Society of Naval Surgeons and, by introducing the Parisian system of practical

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dissection, soon developed a flourishing school. It is said that in 1748 he had twenty pupils and in 1756 more than a hundred.

The supply of subjects for dissection caused considerable difficulty. As the writer in the *Westminster Journal* pointed out, a lecturer required at least one fresh body each week and these could not all have come from Tyburn.

“Therefore we may reasonably conclude that by far the greatest part must be procured by a good understanding with those who have custody of the dead.”

In 1752 the legislature intending to offer help passed an Act “for the better preventing the horrid crime of murder” and ordered that the bodies of all those executed at Tyburn should be handed over to the Surgeons' Company for dissection. The ultimate result of this act was unfortunate in that it bred the belief in the popular mind that dissection after death was even a worse punishment than hanging. The immediate result was to stir the Court of Assistants to take some active measures to reorganise the anatomical lectures which had been allowed to lapse. Plans for the disposal of the increased supply of bodies were discussed and it was decided to revive the annual appointment of the six anatomical officers as in the days of the old Company.

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In July, 1753, Percival Pott and William Hunter¹ were appointed Masters of Anatomy for the ensuing year, Stafford Crane and Joseph Paul, Wardens, with Isaac Minors and William Hewitt, Stewards.

Paul pleaded ill health and paid the fine of £21 to be excused from service and Thomas Griffith was elected in his stead.

Pott's reputation as a teacher was already well established. John Hunter had been his pupil at St. Bartholomew's in 1751. William Hunter, who had obtained the grand diploma and become a free-man of the Company in 1749, was well known as an anatomist. In selecting these two men to inaugurate their anatomical teaching the Court of Assistants showed a desire to fulfil their obligation to develop surgical education.

Unfortunately steps were not taken to provide the collection of specimens required to illustrate a systematic course of lectures ; moreover it was

¹ The erroneous statement has been made that John Hunter was the first Master of Anatomy. In 1753, John was a gentleman commoner at St. Mary Hall, Oxford, and in the following year entered as a Surgeon's pupil at St. George's ; he did not take the grand diploma and become a freeman of the Company until 1768, when he was appointed Surgeon to St. George's. He was appointed Staff-Surgeon to the Army and went to Belleisle in 1760, but there is no record of his having been examined at Surgeons' Hall before this appointment. He returned to England in 1763 and settled in Golden Square, presumably claiming the right to practise as a retired officer.

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thought that honour alone was a sufficient reward for the lecturer's labours though the value of that reward was diminished by limiting the tenure of the office to one year.

The Company did not even make use of the Arris and Gale endowments to encourage the lecturers, but treated the money received as general corporate income.

If the inadequate arrangements for the provision of teaching had resulted from a desire to encourage the teachers, the Company could have adopted the suggestion made by the writer in the *Westminster Journal* and distributed the bodies of felons received from Tyburn to those who were anxious to obtain subjects for dissection, but such aid was not offered.

In 1754 Thomas Griffith, an Assistant Surgeon at St. Bartholomew's, and William Hewitt, Surgeon to St. George's, became the Masters of Anatomy, but did not suggest any change.

In 1755 they were succeeded by Isaac Minors, Surgeon to the Middlesex Hospital, and Joseph Warner, Surgeon to Guy's, both of whom subsequently became very active members of the Court.

Minors opened his term of office by presenting a plan for a school of Anatomy at the Hall; the Court invited him to attend and ordered his proposals to be printed and a copy to be sent to each assistant.

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At the next meeting of the Court it was decided that the existing system of anatomical lectures had not been given a sufficient trial to justify a change, but a Committee was appointed to consider the rules for the lectures.

C.A Min.,
Sept. 2, 1755.

The Court approved the recommendation of this Committee that public lectures on the muscles should be given regularly from Michaelmas to Christmas, on the viscera from Christmas to Lady Day, and on osteology in June by the two Masters of Anatomy.

The Committee had suggested the appointment of a permanent lecturer, but consideration of this proposal was adjourned and forgotten.¹

ib., Oct. 24,
1755.

Hitherto six anatomical officers had been appointed each year; two stewards whose duty it was to dissect the body of the murderer in a manner convenient for demonstration by the wardens while the Master lectured.

The procedure is described in the case submitted for the opinion of Sir Fletcher Norton in 1765.

¹ A minute records that in 1760 "Gataker (Surgeon to St. George's Hospital) was appointed lecturer to the Company according to the 20th Bylaw," but there is no further reference to his lectures. He was elected to the Court of Assistants in 1765 and died in 1768. He did not become an examiner, nor is there any evidence that he acted with or superseded the anatomical officers.

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Montagu Booth, on being appointed steward in 1764, had pleaded incapacity, but refused to pay the fine of £21, saying that if compelled he would attend, but that his dissection would be useless.

The Court seems to have known that Booth, who was well-to-do and had worked with William Hunter for some time, was making a test case ; the challenge was accepted and at the next opportunity Booth was summoned to dissect a limb on which the Master of Anatomy proposed to demonstrate the muscles.

George Arnaud, his fellow-steward, had engaged Partridge, a teacher of Anatomy and a skilful dissector, to assist him in his part of the dissection ; Arnaud suggested to Booth that he should also employ Partridge. Booth refused and on purpose did the dissection in such a way that the demonstration was impossible and had to be abandoned.

Fletcher Norton held that Booth had incurred the penalty of £21 under the Bylaws, but pointed out that recovery in a court of law would be difficult seeing that the only witnesses, being members of the Company, were interested parties ; he suggested that this difficulty might be overcome by temporarily disfranchising certain members to enable them to give evidence, but advised procrastination to see whether Booth would repeat his offence.

Arnaud and Booth in accordance with custom were appointed Wardens in the ensuing year, but

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in 1766 the two Masters were Arnaud and Henry Watson. It is not stated how the dispute with Booth ended or why he was not promoted to the office of Master. Possibly Henry Watson accepted the office in the capacity of a peacemaker. Booth's action served to draw attention to the general dissatisfaction with the system of the anatomical offices.

As early as 1753 it was decided that one fine of 20 guineas should secure exemption from all the offices and that those who had served any of the offices in the united Company should be excused from similar office in the new Company.

**C.A. Min.,
Oct. 4, 1753.**

In 1758 a resolution was passed that "no person except a sergeant surgeon was to be admitted to the Court of assistants until he had either served or fined for the office of Master, Warden or Steward of anatomy or one of them," and a few months later a rider was added "that any member might fine for the anatomical offices before his election thereto and thereafter be ineligible."

**ib., April 12,
1758.**

ib., July 6.

At the same time an order was made for the publication of a list of members arranged according to seniority and those who had been passed over for the anatomical offices were informed that they could preserve their seniority by serving or fining.

ib., Aug. 8.

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An example of the reasons for refusing to serve is recorded in the minutes for 1759. Robert Pell had been appointed Steward of Anatomy. He wrote **C.A. Min., Nov. 26, 1759.** to the Court pleading incapacity and saying that if he attempted to serve he would make a ridiculous figure and bring disgrace upon himself and the Company. He thought that he ought to be excused the fine, seeing that he was a Justice of the Peace and had given his name to the Duke of Newcastle as being willing to serve as captain of Militia for the County of Middlesex.

ib., Jan. 9, 1760. The Court took the opinion of Pratt, the Attorney-General, and Pell had to pay his fine.

A little later John Harris asked to be disfranchised ; the fine for disfranchisement was 30 guineas, but as he had just been elected Steward of Anatomy, he offered to pay 40 guineas. **ib., July 16.** The Court replied that as he had not applied for disfranchisement before the election as Steward, the fine would be 50 guineas.

In 1762 Lewis Davies asked to be excused serving or fining for Warden of Anatomy because he was Surgeon to the 1st Regiment of Footguards and might be sent abroad. **ib., Aug. 5.**

He was told that if he was sent abroad he would be excused from serving ; he paid the fine. **ib., Sept. 2.**

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Again, in 1762, a Mr. Dowdall asked to be excused from fining for the office of Steward as he had served several offices in the Barbers' Company, had quitted the business of Surgery and lived in the country.

ib., Nov. 18,
1762.

These reasons were judged to be insufficient and he had to pay the fine.

ib., Feb. 3,
1763.

In 1766 a Committee was appointed "to consider a plan for improving the lectures and rendering them more creditable to the Company and more easy to the members thereof."

ib., July 9,
1763.

The Committee did not confine its recommendations to reform in teaching, but made several far-reaching financial proposals which will be considered elsewhere.

Cf. Finance
p. 161.

The important change in the educational system which was suggested was the appointment of a Professor of Anatomy and the reduction of the fine for refusing anatomical office to 5 guineas.

These recommendations were adopted at once, though, as was pointed out in 1782, they contravened the Bylaws and consequently were illegal.

Henceforth, instead of the two Masters of Anatomy, a Professor of Anatomy was appointed annually and was eligible for re-election. His reward was a gold medal in value not exceeding 10 guineas.

The die was made by Mr. Pingo and cost £51—the medals usually cost £9 4s.

The Committee suggested that the Professor

should be allowed to use the theatre, library and dissecting-room for his private classes, but the Court would not agree to this.

George Arnaud and Henry Watson had just been appointed Masters of Anatomy for the ensuing year. Watson who had been Steward in 1765 was elected to be the first Professor;¹ Arnaud took umbrage and was given leave to read the first course of lectures at the end of which Watson took up his office until the next election day when Joseph Else was appointed the Professor. During Else's term of office the Professor was ordered to read his lectures in a gown. Watson held the office again from 1774 to 1777.

The Court does not seem to have given much encouragement to the Professor. In 1774 David Bayford, who had held office for three years, was given three medals because in previous years they had been forgotten.

The medal for 1780-1781 was not awarded because the Professor had not given any lectures, but excuse may be found for him in that in this year the clerk absconded with all the Company's funds. Isaac Minors, the Professor, had actually put forward a scheme for providing free lectures on Surgery for

¹ Henry Watson, F.R.S., Surgeon to Middlesex Hospital, 1751-1762, and to Westminster Hospital, 1762-1793. He had a large collection of anatomical specimens and lectured on anatomy in the Borough.

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candidates for the naval service. The financial troubles arrested all other activities.

Henry Cline succeeded Isaac Minors as Professor in 1781. In 1782 the attendance seems to have been so poor that the Court authorised the payment of 5s. to each assistant who was present at a lecture.

Okey Belfour, the new clerk, now pointed out that the substitution of a Professor for the two Masters of Surgery and other innovations made in 1766 were contrary to the existing Bylaws and therefore irregular, seeing that the alteration had not been approved legally. To remedy this state of affairs the Bylaws were revised under legal advice and submitted in 1782 for the approval of the Lord Chancellor and the two Lord Chief Justices. Lord Thurlow was then Lord Chancellor and may have remembered this event in 1796 when he attacked the Surgeons' Bill in the House of Lords.

Following Cline came a series of Professors whose names are well known to posterity : William Cooper, 1784-1787 ; William Blizard, 1787-1790 ; John Abernethy, 1790-1793 ; Astley Paston Cooper, 1793-1796 ; Thomas Blizard, 1796-1797.

The offices of Warden and Steward of Anatomy were never popular, and when the fine for refusing to serve anatomical office was reduced **C.A. Min., Nov. 30, 1776.** from £21 to 5 guineas in 1766, few seemed willing to serve. John Hunter in 1776 preferred payment to service.

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The efforts of the Company to promote anatomical and surgical education were spasmodic and ineffectual during the first fifty years of its existence. In the last five years a fresh effort was made in connection with the acquisition of the Hunterian collection, but fruition did not come until after the transformation of the Company into the Royal College of Surgeons.

The Act of 1752 for preventing the horrid crime of murder was intended to provide the Surgeons with greater facilities for the study of Anatomy. For the first few years the Company's accounts record several payments in connection with the reception of the bodies of murderers after execution and with the preparation and mounting of their skeletons in the theatre, but difficulties soon arose. In 1758, for instance, the Sheriff's officers were paid 2 guineas "for attempting to get a body from Tyburn," and the wording suggests that the attempt was not successful.

In the eyes of the public subsequent dissection was looked upon as intended to be an addition to the death penalty. When Lord Ferrers was sentenced to death in 1760 for the murder of his steward, to the customary formula was added "after which your body is to be delivered to Surgeons' Hall to be dissected and anatomised." Whereupon he cried out : " God forbid," but recollecting himself, added : " God's will be done."

**Thornbury's
Old and New
London,
Vol. II, 471.**

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The trial of Lord Ferrers by his peers had caused a great sensation ; after his conviction he had been visited frequently in the Tower by his cousin Lady Huntingdon, and when he was hanged at Tyburn she wrote to the Company with regard to the treatment of his body.

The Court immediately sought the opinion of the Attorney General, Charles Pratt (later Lord Camden), sending a special messenger to him at Chislehurst by post-chaise and ordering two men to guard the body. Pratt told them that they must be careful not to evade the Act, but with regard to the degree to which they were obliged to carry their dissection he thought that the Surgeons would be better judges than himself ; he did not think that anyone would ever question whether the body had been sufficiently dissected. They could dissect the whole or any part of the body as they thought fit.

The Act did not prescribe any limit to the time for which the body might be kept, but it was not to be delivered for burial until it had been dissected and finally they were not directed to make the dissection in public or to exhibit the body. The accounts do not record any payments in connection with the dissection, but after the body had been "duly dissected and anatomised" it was delivered to the relatives and buried under the Tower of old St. Pancras church.

The practice of exposing the bodies of murderers

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to the public is not referred to before 1766, but in that year the accounts record payments for advertising that the bodies would be exposed and for the attendance of a constable and other men on the occasion.

It seems to have been the custom to invite the public to view the bodies of the murderers, but the accounts seldom make reference to the matter.

In 1798, after the move to Lincoln's Inn Fields in consequence of the protests of the neighbours, Mr. Mayor was paid £6 6s. for the use of his house "to expose the body of William Long the murderer."

In 1799 Mr. Place received £12 12s. for the hire of a warehouse to expose the body of a man sentenced to be executed for murder but reprieved on the morning of execution.

Later an agreement was made to rent the warehouse from Place for the exhibition of the bodies.

After the establishment of the Professorship of Anatomy the teaching seems to have been somewhat increased in efficiency.

When Henry Watson was Professor in 1774-1776 he enlisted the services of John Andrée as dissector and demonstrator; a fee of 3 guineas was paid him for the work on each occasion.

Jesse Foot records that Andrée worked with John Hunter in the Leicester Square Lyceum and says that he was very skilful in injecting and dissecting

THE BODY OF LORD FERRERS EXPOSED
AT SURGEONS' HALL

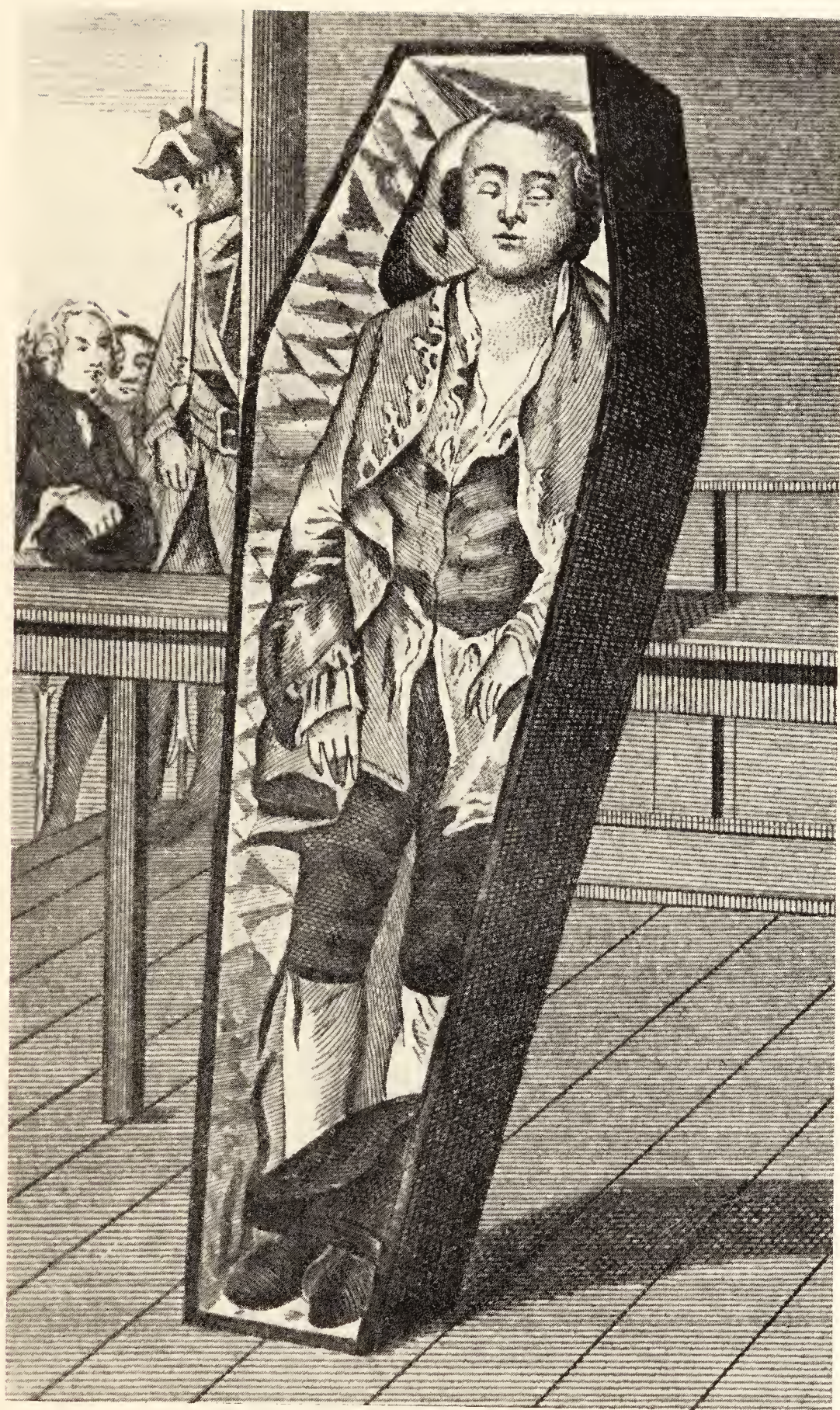
Lord Ferrers was sentenced to death by his peers
in 1760 for the murder of his steward, and
hanged at Tyburn. (See pp. 102-103.)

*From an engraving in the possession of the
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THE BODY OF LORD FERRERS EXPOSED
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Lord Ferrers was sentenced to death by his peers
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From an engraving in the possession of the
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specimens. He was Steward of Anatomy in 1783 and Warden in 1784.¹

In 1776 the name of another assistant to Watson is recorded. Mr. Payne received £10 10s. for dissecting and demonstrating.

John Haighton assisted Henry Cline during his Professorship as dissector and demonstrator and when Cline vacated office in 1784 the July 1, 1784.

Court awarded 15 guineas to Haighton "as a compliment and not as a precedent." If the other Professors employed assistants they did not receive any recognition from the Court.

Only once was the Court moved to comment upon the quality of the lectures. In 1788 at the end of

C.A. Min.,
Jan. 3, 1788. William Blizard's first course of lectures Joseph Warner moved :

"that the thanks of this Court be given to Mr. Professor Blizard for his three ingenious practical and instructive lectures of anatomy and surgery delivered upon this occasion and that a minute be made of this resolution by the clerk."

The resolution was carried unanimously.

¹ In 1788, Mr. Andrée of Hertford wrote asking to have "Dr." added to his name in the ensuing list of the Company. The Court replied that "such a measure is without precedent and cannot be complied with."

Presumably the anatomist had become a general practitioner.

Possibly he was the son of Dr. John Andrée, the first physician on the staff of the London Hospital (1740-1764).

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In spite of these complimentary remarks, Gunning only two years later stigmatised the lectures hitherto given as feeble though shamefully expensive.

The Company had paid £30 or £40 a year for about six lectures, though the Professor got only a gold medal. He thought that an unpaid Professorship was foredoomed to failure. He did not think that a School of Anatomy could be established at the Hall for various reasons, one of which was that "it would interfere with private courses."

He urged the organisation of a course of lectures on Surgery in the summer when the Anatomy schools were closed, and asked the Company to offer a gold medal annually for competition amongst the students. He thought that the 5s. attendance fee should go to the lecturer rather than to the members of the Court who attended the lecture.

He drew attention to the Arris and Gale endowment and claimed that the fines for declining anatomical office should be added to the capital, the interest of which should be used to encourage the study of anatomy and surgery.

Gunning was a vigorous destructive critic and evidently had considerable constructive ability, but his proposals were too drastic to secure acceptance and the apathy which had characterised the past continued to prevail.

He gives no hint that he thought that an ordered curriculum was desirable for a student, or that it

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was the duty of an examining body to indicate suitable courses of study.

It is true that a committee was appointed to consider Gunning's criticisms and that in consequence of their report financial reform resulted.

The committee drew attention to the original intention of the Company when the theatre was erected, and remarked that all attempts to execute the design in the last forty years had failed. They thought that

“ it would be a singular advantage to the younger men who are sent off to inferior stations in the Army and Navy and to the public in consequence, could they receive instruction in surgery and anatomy from practical lectures given them gratis and at the expense of the Court.”

They suggested the formation of a lecture fund to which should be allocated Gale's annuity of £16, the interest on Arris' gift of £510 and on the fines for not serving the anatomical offices, which they estimated amounted to £1300. A member of the Court should be appointed Professor of Surgery and should give one anatomical and fifteen surgical lectures. His salary should be £80 for each course, out of which he should defray all the expenses.

The assistants should no longer receive the 5s. attendance money for listening to the lectures,

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but the Master and Wardens should certainly be present.

The recommendations were accepted except that the Professor of Surgery should not be called upon to give a lecture on Anatomy seeing that there was a Professor of Anatomy.

In 1791 John Gunning was appointed the first Professor of Surgery; he accepted the office, but three months later resigned owing to pressure of other work.

In January, 1792, having heard that there was opposition to the appointment of a successor and being unable to attend the Court, he wrote a long letter expressing his views.

“ The standard of the examination for the mates in the Army and Navy was very low; if the candidates had some natural ability and were industrious they might possibly become capable Surgeons in course of time, but at first there was great risk for those placed under their care; the less capable candidates might be really dangerous. Those who were approved at the Surgeons' Hall were at first merely apprentices, but many of them owing to deaths or promotions of their seniors might in a very short space of time become Masters, or having served three years in any capacity they could come home and pleading their exemption

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from control as retired officers set the Company's diploma at defiance.

The legal position of these men had never been decided in the Courts, but seeing that as a matter of fact they did in many instances undertake civilian practice it would obviously be of public advantage if they had been taught the rudiments of their profession.

If the Company offered such instruction it would not only redound to its honour, but would strengthen the claim for some remuneration for the examiners."

Gunning suggested three names for the Professorship—William Blizard, Cline or Abernethy.

The consideration of Gunning's letter was postponed until the next Court, when it was postponed again and thereafter there was no further mention of it.

John Hunter was present when the consideration of the letter was postponed for the second time, but it does not appear that he took any part in the discussion.

CHAPTER VIII

The Hunterian Collection

SEVEN YEARS PASSED BEFORE THE QUESTION OF establishing a lectureship in Surgery was raised again. In January, 1799, a special meeting of the Court was called to consider the matter, but after a debate the discussion was adjourned to the next meeting.

The revival of educational enthusiasm was determined by the anticipated offer of the care of John Hunter's collection if it were bought by the nation. Doubtless it was known that the offer would be accompanied by certain conditions, one of which would be the organisation of explanatory lectures.

The offer came at the end of April : the trustees announced their desire that the Company of **C.A. Min.,** Surgeons should take charge of the **April 26,** collection and asked their proposals for **1799.** its preservation and employment.

The Court promptly passed the following resolutions and instructed the Clerk to send copies to the Trustees :

1. That it is the opinion of this Court that the museum of anatomical and morbid preparations

THE HUNTERIAN COLLECTION

of the late Mr. John Hunter has been selected and made with extraordinary skill and judgment and that being carefully preserved it would become of great national benefit by promoting and extending the knowledge of Anatomy and Surgery.

2. That if Parliament shall think proper to purchase this valuable collection for the benefit of the public and shall honour this Corporation by entrusting it to their care this Court will be highly gratified in receiving the same and will use their utmost endeavours to render it conducive to the advancement of anatomical and surgical knowledge.

After the notification of these resolutions in April there was a long interval before the official reply from the Government was received, and during this interval the chief concern of the Court was to procure the Royal Charter.

Dec. 13, 1799. In December the following letter from the Treasury was received and read to the Court.

“ GENTLEMEN,

Dr. Baillie and Mr. Everard Home, the trustees of Mr. Hunter's collection, having represented to the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury that you, the Court of

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Assistants of the Surgeons' Company, have come to an unanimous resolution expressive of your high opinion of the value of the said collection and your willingness to take charge of it free of any expense to government under such regulations as may be thought necessary for its preservation and general utility, I am commanded by their Lordships to acquaint you that they have ordered the said collection to be delivered over to you under the following conditions which my Lords have thought necessary to carry the intention of Parliament in the purchase of this collection into more effectual execution.

- (1) The collection shall be open four hours in the forenoon two days every week for inspection and consultation of the fellows of the College of Physicians, the members of the Company of Surgeons and persons properly introduced by them, a catalogue of preparations and a proper person to explain it being at those times always in the room.
- (2) That a course of lectures, not less than twelve in number, upon comparative anatomy illustrated by the preparations shall be given twice a year by some member of the Surgeons' Company.
- (3) That the preparations shall be kept in a state of preservation and the collection in as perfect a

THE HUNTERIAN COLLECTION

state as possible at the expense of the Corporation of Surgeons subject to the annual inspection and superintendence of a committee chosen from the board of Trustees.

- (4) That there shall be a Board of Trustees to consist of sixteen members by virtue of their public offices and of fourteen others to be appointed in the first instance by the Lords of the Treasury and afterwards to be elected as vacancies may happen by a majority of the remaining Trustees.

(The constitution of the first board is here given in full.)

- (5) That the museum shall always be open for the inspection of all or any of the said trustees who are to take care that the Corporation of Surgeons perform their engagements respecting the said collection. That a day be appointed for the annual inspection of the Museum by the Trustees acting collectively as a Board ; and that they are also to have quarterly meetings for the transacting of any business relative to the Museum and for the filling up of such vacancies as may happen in the number of Trustees and that the Corporation of Surgeons shall engage some person to officiate as Secretary to the Board upon such occasions and to issue previous notices

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to the members in which they are to state particularly whether any vacancies are to be filled up by new elections.

I am, gentlemen,

Your most humble servant,

CHARLES LONG."

The Court considered the letter carefully and approved the conditions with the exception that they **C.A. Min.,** thought it would be sufficient for the **Dec. 13, 1799.** Museum to be open on one day in each week for six hours instead of on two days for four hours, and that one course of not less than twenty-four lectures on comparative anatomy would be preferable to two courses of twelve lectures.

A committee consisting of the Master and Wardens with Messrs. Blizard and Cline were appointed to confer with the Trustees.

At the next meeting of the Court the Committee reported. The proposal that the Museum should be open only once a week was dropped, but that recommending a single course of twenty-four lectures annually was confirmed.

The Committee had visited the Museum in Castle Street and inspected the house in Leicester Fields. They found the premises quite unsuitable for the permanent deposit of the collection, but learnt that the Trustees held them for an unexpired term of seven years and were willing to let the Theatre

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and Museum to the Company for all or part of the term. The house could be let separately.

The Court agreed with the suggestion of the Committee that the Castle Street buildings should be rented for three or four years, and also with the suggestion of the Trustees that Clift should be retained to look after and expound the collection.

A letter embodying the view of the Court was prepared and sent to Mr. Long. Messrs. Birch and Heaviside were added to the Committee for the purpose of carrying the proposals into effect.

The subsequent history of the Hunterian collection belongs to the reign of the Royal College of Surgeons to which the authority of the old Company was demised by the Royal Charter of 22nd March 1800.

CHAPTER IX

The Court of Examiners

THE OFFICE OF EXAMINER WAS LOOKED UPON AS the most honourable and certainly was the most lucrative appointment in the Company.

The Examiners, limited in number to ten by the Act, held office for life ; from them only could the Master and Wardens be chosen ; they met at least once a month, whereas the full court of twenty-one met only once a quarter. It is not surprising therefore that as early as 1748 the entire management of the affairs of the Company had passed into the hands of the Court of Examiners.

The Examiners suffered but little loss by the omission of the Bylaw requiring all members to call an Examiner in consultation in serious cases ; their position on the staffs of the hospitals guaranteed to them the rank of consultants.

They received fees for teaching their apprentices, pupils and dressers at the hospitals, and consequently had no incentive to develop educational activities at Surgeons' Hall.

As teachers of practical Surgery they were not

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moved by jealousy of the Schools of Anatomy which were established when the ban on private dissecting was removed.

They considered that the primary function of the Court of Examiners was to approve Surgeons for membership of the Company. In the days of the joint Company those seeking the grand diploma had to serve an apprenticeship of seven years to a freeman of the Company, but after the separation considerable laxity was permitted. Servitude to "foreigners" was accepted and even of this strict proof was not required.

Apprenticeship was still common, but the term was reduced to five years.

Education in Surgery by apprenticeship had been the common custom for so long that doubt had never been felt with regard to the necessity of obedience to the Statute of Apprentices. Laxity had crept in when retired officers who had not fulfilled the requirements of the Act were allowed by law to practise.

It was not until 1781 that the Company sought Counsel's opinion on the matter :

Opinion dated Mar. 14, 1781.
3 Henry VIII, c. 11.
T. Erskine then held that the Surgeons were regulated by the Act of 1511 which required examination before the Bishop's licence could be granted, but did not make any reference to apprenticeship ; he thought that the Elizabethan Act did not apply

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to Surgeons as the previous Act had not been modified or repealed.

The Act of 1745 had not made apprenticeship compulsory, nor did the Charter of the Royal College of Surgeons when it was granted in 1800.

The examination of "Sea-Surgeons" had been an important duty since it was instituted by Charles I.

Evidence given before the Parliamentary Committee in 1745 stated that fees were not charged for this examination, though voluntary contributions by the candidates to the poor box were encouraged. The Surgeons after the separation made some charge for examining mates, though the amount is not stated in the earlier records. In 1762 mates for army hospitals paid one guinea.

**C.E. Min.,
Jan. 7, 1762.**

In 1745 the new Company was entrusted with the duty of examining candidates for the Army Medical Service as well as those for the Navy.

The East India Company also sent their candidates for examination.

For these appointments previous apprenticeship was not necessary, and the standard of the examination was lower than that for the grand diploma, seeing that in the earlier years of their service those who were approved held the subordinate rank of mate and were treated as pupils.

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Rejections were not frequent, but some are recorded. Perhaps the most famous was that of Oliver Goldsmith who was refused a certificate for the post of hospital mate on 21st December, 1758. Goldsmith had attended Monro's lectures at Edinburgh from 1752 to 1754, and then had studied chemistry under Gaubius at Leyden for a year; after six months at Padua he returned to London and began to practise at Bankside in 1756. The reason for his rejection is not recorded; he had started already on his literary career. *The Present State of Polite Learning* appeared in 1759.

In 1761 the Commissioners for the Navy wrote to the Court of Examiners asking that Surgeons' mates might be examined again after
**C.E. Min.,
Nov. 12, 1761.** six months' service with a view to promotion to the rank of Surgeons. The fee for this examination was fixed at three guineas, but from this was deducted any fees paid for previous examinations for appointment as mates.

In 1770 the full fee of £3 3s. was charged only to Surgeons to ships of first or second rate; those for third or fourth rate ships paid £2 12s. 6d., and for fifth or sixth rate only £2 2s.

In 1778 the fee was raised to £3 3s. for all Surgeons without any deductions for fees paid previously.

In 1779 the Examiners resolved not to re-examine

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mates for promotion or after rejection until six months had elapsed.

C.E. Min.,
Mar. 4, 1779.

ib., Jan. 2,
1783.

ib., Aug. 4,
1796.

In 1783 they thought that Surgeons should have served at least six months as first mate.

In 1796¹ the Court made a rule that no one should be examined for the post of Surgeon in the Navy unless he had previously passed as a mate, but the Commissioners for the Navy wrote at once asking that this resolution should not be enforced.

Compensation and Superannuation Cases.

As time went on the Examiners were invited to perform functions other than testing the candidates' professional knowledge.

In 1764 a compensation case was recorded in the minute book.

“ Mr. Coles' wound examined and thought

¹ Creswell (R.C.S., Edinburgh, p. 172) states that in 1798 the East India Company agreed to accept the diploma of the Edinburgh College of Surgeons as a qualification for service in India without further examination by the Company in London. A similar request made to the Naval and Military authorities was refused by the Admiralty. The Army agreed to accept the Edinburgh diploma, but remarked: “Several gentlemen have appeared with the Edinburgh diploma who were very young and who were indifferently qualified, being so destitute of a due degree of preliminary education as to be unable to translate the pharmacopœia or to read the Latin directions to prescriptions.”

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not equal to the loss of a limb. The expenses
C.E. Min. of the cure amounting to £496 8s.
May 31, 1764. were considered, and though no
vouchers (but an affidavit of having disbursed
that sum) were produced and read—reported
reasonable on account of the expensiveness of the
places he was at while under cure.”

After this similar cases were recorded frequently,
some of which are of historical interest.

In 1795 Admiral Sir Thomas Pasley claimed
£200 15s. 4d. as the expenses of his cure. The
Court thought that £102 2s. 10d. would
C.E. Min., be a proper charge for the surgical
April 2, 1795. treatment, but refused to express any
opinion about other compensation as it did not come
into their province.

In the same year Admiral Lord Graves' wound
was found equal to the loss of a limb.

In 1797 Rear-Admiral Sir Horatio Nelson, K.B.,
applied for examination in consequence of a wound
received in his eye, and the Court was
ib., Oct. 12, of opinion that the injury received by
1797. him was fully equal to the loss of an eye.

Next year Nelson “claimed £135 1s. for the
chirurgical and medical expenses of the cure of
ib., Mar. 1, his arm which was thought reasonable
1798. and allowed.”

Examinations for superannuation also became fre-

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quent—failing sight, asthma and other conditions as well as wounds were reported.

In war-time the work of the Court of Examiners became very heavy ; at some sessions there were as many as forty or fifty candidates for appointments in the services or for promotion in addition to those seeking the grand diploma. The binding of apprentices, the examination of Sea-Surgeons' journals and inspection of their instruments also formed part of their work.

Doing all this work for the Company, the examiners came to think that they and they alone were the Company.

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The Sick and Hurt Board, consisting of medical and lay members, was established in the time of Queen Anne and was given an advisory function with regard to the medical affairs of the Navy. One of its duties was to arrange for the supply of drugs and instruments for the Surgeons' chests. The drugs and medicines were supplied by the Navy stock at the Apothecaries' Hall and had to be guaranteed by the Master and Wardens.

The instruments had to be approved by the Surgeons' Company, and at the first Court meeting in 1745 this duty was entrusted to the Master and upper Warden for the time being.

Certain fees were paid for the inspection of the

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instruments, and it became the custom for the Apothecaries' agent to collect them on behalf of the Surgeons at the time the payment for the drugs was made.

The records show that in 1764 £17 4s. 3d. was received as "the share of money due from the Apothecaries' Hall."

In the Army, drugs and instruments were supplied by the Apothecary General (Garnier) who held a Royal Patent.

Neither the Company of Surgeons nor the Society of Apothecaries had any duties to perform in this connection.

In 1795 the Sick and Hurt Board of the Navy was abolished by Lord Spencer, then first Lord of the Admiralty. In its place three commissioners were appointed, Dr. Robert Blair and Dr. Gilbert Blane as physicians, and Sir William Gibbons.

In October, 1797, Gunning, who was then Master, reported that :

**C.A. Min.,
Oct. 5, 1797.**

"When the Clerk went to the Apothecaries' Hall to receive the fees due to the Master and upper Warden for the examination of the instruments of the Navy Surgeons he was informed that the Commissioners of the Sick and Hurt office had taken that service upon themselves and had ordered that after 29th April last no more instruments should be sent to the Governors of this Company to examine."

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After discussion the Clerk was instructed to send to the Commissioners a copy of the clause in the Charter of King Charles I relating to the matter with appropriate comments.

The Commissioners acknowledged the receipt of the letter and promised to take its contents into consideration, but apparently did not pay any further attention to the Surgeons' protest.

ib., Nov. 8.
ib., April 4, 1799.

In 1799 the Court discussed the matter again and asked the clerk :

“ to enquire whether the fees heretofore paid for the examination of the instruments were paid by the naval Surgeons or whom else and whether any such fees are now paid and to whom and that he make such further enquiries as may appear proper to a full understanding of the matter.”

At each subsequent Court until the Charter was received in 1800, the minutes record further postponement of the discussion about the Surgeons' instruments.

Not only did the Commissioners thus deprive the Surgeons of one of their perquisites, but they altered also the mode of appointment of the Surgeons.

Lucas, who had been Master in 1791, told the Court in 1797 that a candidate who had been passed at the Hall for second mate on a third rate had attended the Sick and Hurt

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office with his certificate on the following day and had been required to undergo another long examination in Surgery and had been approved for first mate on any rate and had actually gone to sea in that capacity.

The Court thought that the honour and interest of the Company was essentially affected, and *ib.*, Oct. 5, 1797, ordered a copy of the clause in the Charter of 1629 and that in the Act of Parliament of 1745 relating to the examination of naval Surgeons by the Company together with requisite explanations to be sent to the Commissioners.

The Minutes do not make any further allusion to the subject, but the Charter of the Royal College of Surgeons in 1800 required the Court of Examiners upon the request of the Commander-in-Chief or the Lord High Admiral or other authorised officer of the Crown

“ to examine every person who shall be a candidate to be appointed to serve as a Surgeon in any regiment, troop, company, hospital or garrison of soldiers . . . or to serve as a Surgeon or Surgeon’s mate appointed on board any ship or ships, etc. . . . and shall receive for each such examination from the person so examined respectively such fee or reward as shall from time to time be allowed and no more—and shall in like manner examine all

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Surgeons' instruments to be used in our service which they shall be required in like manner to examine, and shall return such instruments when examined to such person or persons as shall be appointed to receive the same—and taking for the same examination such fee or reward as shall be allowed from time to time by such our officer and officers respectively and no more.”

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On one occasion at least the Government invited the Company to express an opinion on a surgical problem.

The Brentford Election Riot

At the Brentford Election in December, 1768, when Wilkes was returned for Middlesex, a young man named George Clarke during a riot was hit on the head and died a few days later. Though there was a scalp wound which bled profusely, medical aid was not sought for some days. Solomon Starling, a liveryman of the Society of Apothecaries, was called in then and found him in bed with high fever. He called in consultation Mr. Bromfield, the upper Warden of the Surgeons' Company, who apparently did not examine the wound, but agreed with the diagnosis of fever. Clarke died on the following day.

At the inquest Starling said that Clarke died of fever, but that he could not say what was the cause of the fever.

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John Foot, a Surgeon, was thereupon instructed to make a post-mortem examination. He asked that Bromfield might be present, but was told that he had refused to attend "because he apprehended it might be an Old Bailey business." In the end Foot examined the body in the presence of the jury and of an Army Surgeon named Bearcroft. He found a contused wound of the scalp, but not any evidence of fracture of the skull; there was considerable intracranial hæmorrhage just beneath the scalp wound.

He gave the opinion that Clarke's death was due to the wound.

The jury brought in a verdict of Wilful Murder by some person or persons unknown.

A month later Lawrence Balfe and Edward MacQuirk were charged with the murder at the Old Bailey. Foot was called to give evidence, but not either Starling or Bromfield. Balfe and MacQuirk were found guilty and condemned to death.

It does not seem possible to explain the ensuing proceedings otherwise than by supposing that the "King's friends" had hired Balfe and MacQuirk to create the riot so as to prevent the election of Wilkes and that they felt bound to save their agents from the penalty they had incurred.

It seems to have been common knowledge that the two men were professional bullies and had knocked down indiscriminately everyone they met

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at Brentford. They had been seen previously at Northampton with sticks in their hands pierced with nails at the ends supporting the cause of a ministerial nobleman.

Two days after the trial Bromfield asked Foot to come to see him, and at the interview exculpated Sir William Beauchamp Proctor, suggesting that a party of men had been hired by Serjeant Glynn, Wilkes' Counsel, and with Proctor's labels on their hats had created the riot crying out "Proctor for ever." Serjeant Davy, the Counsel for the prosecution, before the trial had stated that he would bring the clearest proof that the men had been hired by Glynn, but when the time came did not produce any evidence at all in support of the allegation.

Though he had been called to see the case in consultation Bromfield went on to suggest that Starling had committed an error in treating a case of concussion as if it were one of nervous fever. Foot agreed that possibly this was true, but he regretted that Bromfield had not been present at the autopsy.

A day or two later Bromfield met Foot in the street apparently by accident, and asked him to come to discuss matters with some of his colleagues.

To show his independence Foot said that unfortunately he had to see a patient, but after his visit he would go to Cæsar Hawkins' house as Bromfield desired. When he got there he found Bromfield, Hawkins, Ranby and Middleton waiting for him—

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three Serjeant-Surgeons and the Surgeon to the Dowager-Princess of Wales. Ranby told him that Starling had signed a statement that Clarke had died of a fever. Foot replied that what Starling had signed was not material to him. Bromfield reminded him that he had said that if Clarke had received correct treatment early he might have recovered. Foot admitted this. Ranby at once followed up by saying that if Foot would put this in writing it would be an act of real humanity and might be of great service to the condemned men if shown to His Majesty.

Foot was trapped, and signed the following declaration :

“I, John Foot, Surgeon of Holles Street, Cavendish Square, declare that it is my opinion that in case early and proper care (accompanied by necessary evacuations) had been taken of the deceased Mr. George Clarke, whose head I examined on Thursday, December 15th, 1768, that in all probability he would have recovered.

Of these sentiments I acquainted the aunt at her house previous to the trial.

(Signed) John Foot,
Holles Street. *Feb. 15, 1769.*

(Witnesses) M. Ranby.
D. Middleton.
W. Bromfield.”

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Overjoyed with the success of their diplomacy Ranby complimented Foot on his humane generous act and invited him to dinner. Foot declined the invitation, but, feeling uneasy, went to the Chelsea Hospital later in the day to see Ranby to make sure that an improper use would not be made of the declaration. Ranby promised that it would be shown only to the Duke of Grafton and Lord Rochford. Bromfield was with Ranby and made a similar promise.

In a very short time a report was spread industriously that Foot had altered his opinion and had signed a paper contradicting his former evidence. He promptly taxed Bromfield with failure to keep the promise. Bromfield replied that credit should not be given to the reports seeing that the statement had not been divulged. Foot said that he had also heard that Rochford had asked the Court of Examiners of the Surgeons' Company to give their judgment with regard to Clarke's death and wished to know if the report was true. Bromfield admitted the fact and said that he was going to ask Lord Rochford for the signed statement. Foot replied that this was unnecessary seeing that he could attend in person. On the following day Foot went to see Ranby, who told him that he had read carefully the depositions at the Old Bailey and offered some technical criticisms of Foot's account of the autopsy. With Ranby was Mr. Murphy who had been Counsel

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for the prisoners at the trial. Murphy admitted that he had not cross-examined Foot lest "something worse might come out."

Foot attended at Surgeons' Hall and sent in his name ; he was kept waiting for an hour and a half before he was called in. His evidence at the Old Bailey was read and he was asked if he wished to make any corrections. Questions were then put to him by Percival Pott, Young, Cowell, Bromfield, Hawkins and Ranby.

The Court also examined Starling and Bromfield, but the evidence was not reported.

It does not seem to have occurred to anyone that Bromfield's presence both as witness and Judge was liable to adverse criticism.

The Surgeons reported that it did not appear to them that George Clarke died in consequence of the blow he received in the riot at Brentford on 8th of December. In view of this report a free pardon was granted publicly to MacQuirk. Balfe was set free privately.

Foot was very indignant at the aspersion cast on his professional ability, and published a long "Appeal to the public" which passed through at least two editions.

Bromfield, of course, replied in an anonymous "Counter appeal to the public," the chief arguments in which seem to be that Foot did not write the appeal himself, though he signed it, and that his

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opinion was of little value in comparison with the opinion of ten of the leading Surgeons of London.

The political excitement of the time fanned the controversy, and many pamphlets and letters to the Press appeared to support the contestants on each side.

An anonymous writer, in reply to Dale Ingram's contribution, seems to explain the position :

“ The conviction of Balfe and MacQuirk,” he wrote, “ however just and right, was the object of great consternation to the people in power and to those who were the primary cause of the confusion of that day on which Mr. Clarke received the blow. Shocked at the consequence they were indefatigable in their efforts to preserve the immediate instruments of their guilt.”

The conclusion seems inevitable that the judgment of the examiners was influenced by instructions from the Court party.

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Occasionally the Court had to deal with problems of professional etiquette.

In 1785 William Blizard and James Simpson wrote complaining of an advertisement signed by Mr. Pinkstan, a member of the Court, recommending Dr. James' fever powders as efficacious in the cure of white swellings. Pinkstan was not present when

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the letters were considered, but had read them and replied that he thought they were unworthy of his notice and that he would give no answer.

The Court decided that it had no power to interfere officially in the matter, but that it disapproved the advertisement.

A copy of the resolution was sent to Blizard and Simpson.

In 1787 John Taylor alleged that John Dale had reflected on his professional judgment and asked the Court to adjudicate. Taylor and Dale were called before the Court and examined. The judgment was that “Mr. Taylor had not been able to substantiate any charges against Mr. Dale, and Mr. Dale is entirely acquitted of the same.”

C.A. Min.,
Oct. 4, 1787.

In 1793 Mr. Bull, a member practising in Oxford, complained that his privileges were infringed by the University. The Court replied that all the members were entitled to practise in either University, but that it was not possible to prevent the University from forbidding their own members to employ him.

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Though the diploma conferred inappreciable legal privileges in civil practice, yet the names of the eminent Surgeons inscribed thereon gave confidence to the public; it became a coveted distinction and the numbers of those seeking it increased. The

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candidates' fees added considerably to the Company's income and allowed the invested capital to accumulate. Seeing that the government had passed into the hands of the Court of Examiners, whose time and energy were fully occupied, the Company became an examining and diploma granting body with little interest in teaching or in promoting the interests of the members.

When the Surgeons separated from the Barbers the intention was to change a trade into a profession ; the policy pursued created an oligarchy of eminent and respected examiners in the reflection of whose glory the ordinary members were allowed to bask.

The system advanced the social status of the few, but did little to develop the education of the general body of members.

CHAPTER X

Regulation of Practice by the Company

AFTER 1629, WHEN CHARLES I GRANTED THE NEW Charter to the Barber-Surgeons' Company, the position with regard to examinations in Surgery was as follows :

1. No Surgeon could practise in London or a circuit of seven miles unless he had been examined and approved by the Court of Examiners of the Company.
2. Under the Act of 1511, all who practised Surgery had to hold a licence from the Bishop of London or Dean of St. Paul's after examination by four Surgeons.
3. By the compact of 1599 this licence was granted only to those who had been examined at the Hall.
4. Only freemen of the City could practise within the liberties of the City.
5. Freemen of the Barber-Surgeons' Company were eligible for the freedom of the City.
6. Freedom of the Company could be obtained only after serving an apprenticeship for seven

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years and being approved by the Court of Examiners.

7. Freedom of the City and consequently freedom of the Company was not compulsory for those practising outside the liberties of the City, though examination after apprenticeship seems to have been necessary before the Episcopal licence could be granted. Licensed practitioners who were not free of the Company were termed foreigners.
8. Those who had been examined and approved at the Hall could claim the Bishop's licence to practise in any diocese in England, but outside London such licences could be granted to others who had not been examined at the Hall.
9. Towards the end of the century the Vicar-General ignored the compact of 1599 and often granted licences on the certificates of Surgeons who were not members of the Court of Examiners. The Act of 1511 entitled them to do this, and the licentiates could practise anywhere except within the City liberties and even there if they were freemen of the City.
10. The Court of Examiners had to certify the degree of competence of candidates for the posts of Surgeon or Surgeon's mate for ships in the Navy or Mercantile Marine.

For these posts previous apprenticeship was

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not required, and the examination was of a preliminary and elementary nature ; the Court granted a certificate that the candidate was suitable for the post of mate on a ship of the first, second or lesser rate according to his merit. The candidates were posted to ships by the Admiralty in accordance with the recommendation, and at first served as would apprentices in civil life.

These “ naval Surgeons ” did not become freemen of the Company or obtain the right of civilian practice unless they passed the higher examination for the grand diploma.

The Act of 1745, though that of 1511 was not repealed, had the effect of depriving the Bishops of their authority and superseded the charter of 1629.

The Company's licence now entitled practice anywhere in the King's dominions. The Barber-Surgeons had claimed in 1715 the sufficiency of their licence for practice in London and had threatened a test case in the law courts if the Bishop disputed their claim ; the new Act gave the Surgeons' licence statutory authority.

The Charter of Charles I had given the Surgeons certain coercive powers to prevent practice in the London district by those who had not been examined and approved by them ; the Act of 1745 did not confirm these powers, and the new Company found

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that it had no authority to prevent irregular practice except in the capacity of common informers against those who practised without the Bishop's licence, which, in London at least, was no longer granted.

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The inauguration of the Lecture theatre and the establishment of the Company in its own home was followed by an attempt to enforce full control of the practice of Surgery in London.

**C.A. Min.,
May 3, 1753.
Ryder's
Opinion,
June 18.**

The Court published a Bylaw that

“If any person shall practise Surgery at any time hereafter or hang out any sign professing to practise Surgery without having been first duly examined by the Court of Examiners he shall be liable to a fine of £5 a month.”

Several Surgeons, when summoned under this Bylaw to be examined for the grand diploma, refused to attend on the ground that they were exempted by the Act of 1749 which enabled “such officers, marines and soldiers as have been in H.M. service since the accession of George II to set up trade without any let, suit or molestation,” although they had not served the seven years' apprenticeship required by the Elizabethan Act.

**C.A. Mins.,
May 3, June 5,
1753.**

**22 Geo. II,
c. 44.**

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The Court took the opinion of Sir Dudley Ryder and this was wholly adverse.

“ The Company have no power by virtue of the Charter, Act or Bylaw to oblige all persons practising Surgery to be examined. Nor is the penalty of the regulation obligatory on all or any but members of the Company.”

Ryder thus confirmed in stronger language the opinion given by Erskine in 1746.

In 1763 another Act was passed extending the exemption granted by the 1749 Act to those who
3 Geo. III, had been in H.M. service since that
c. 8. time and in addition to their wives and children.

“ If tried, impleaded or indicted in any court whatsoever within this kingdom for using or exercising any such trade, shall on proving past service in H.M. forces or being wife, child or children of such officer, mariner, soldier or marine shall be found not guilty in any plaint, bill, information or indictment.

“ Persons prosecuting such suit and having the verdict passed against them or become non-suit therein or discontinue the suit shall pay to the officer, mariner, etc., double the costs of the suit.”

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The Company once more sought Counsel's opinion. Charles Yorke replied :

**Yorke's
opinion,
dated Aug.
13, 1764.**

“ The examination and certificate of the Surgeons' Company to the commissioners of the Navy, etc., will be sufficient to exempt the Surgeons in whose favour certificates have been given from undergoing a second examination, and would be deemed a good defence in actions to be brought upon the Bylaw for the penalty both by judges and juries.

“ The not having received the grand diploma (which is a mere formality) would not be considered as a proper ground for recovering the penalty, and it would strike a Court of Justice very strongly that if the Surgeons thus examined and obtaining certificates were qualified to serve in the Navy and Army they must be qualified to practise in London and Westminster and within seven miles round those cities.

“ I am of opinion that even supposing the grand diploma necessary to be obtained in order to avoid the penalty, if the case stood merely on the Statute of 19 Geo. II and the Bylaw, yet the Statute 22 Geo. II is sufficient to dispense with both and to comprehend the surgeons, etc., who served in the Army and Navy they being entitled (if I mistake not) at least in the Navy to some rank as officers on board a ship.”

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Sir Fletcher Norton, Attorney-General at the time (Sir Bull-face Double-fee of the satirists), differed from Yorke. He thought that the Company could compel all persons practising Surgery within the limits to be examined and on refusal could exact the penalty. The Act 22 Geo. II was not applicable. A certificate given to qualify for employment as mate in a man-of-war was not sufficient to enable practice on shore. All mates ought to be properly examined and to take out their diploma.

**Norton's
opinion, Dec.
17, 1764.**

In the case submitted to Counsel it was stated that those employed in the Navy had been examined by the Court of Examiners and had received certificates "of their various degrees of qualification by virtue of which they are usually appointed by the Commissioners of the Navy to such stations as they appear to be respectively qualified for."

Four years later James Wallace concurred with the opinion of Erskine, Ryder and Yorke.

July 5, 1768.

"The Act (22 Geo. II) entitles the retired Army or Navy Surgeons to practise Surgery within the limits of the Corporation of Surgeons without being liable to any examination or penalties"—"they are exempted from any examination whatsoever or any necessity of taking out a diploma."

**Cf. Min.,
June 9, 1768.**

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The Surgeons doubtless felt that the supposed monopoly of the practice of Surgery in London possessed by the members of the Company was infringed by the retired officers who practised without taking the grand diploma or becoming freemen of the Company. They agreed that the certificate granted by the Examiners to enable a candidate to become a Surgeon's mate in the Army or Navy was merely evidence of competence to act as a learner under the direction of an experienced Surgeon.

Sir Fletcher Norton drew attention to the difference between this certificate and the grand diploma which could be obtained only after an apprenticeship for seven years.

One of the Surgeons commented :

“ The question is whether a mate has the licence and power pursuant to the Act to follow his profession in London having never obtained the rank of full Surgeon in the Navy or Army. And in the next place whether having obtained this rank without qualifying and proving his competency as such, can be a warrant for him to practise without testimonial and previous examination.

**MS. note in
Guildhall
copy of Mins.**

“ If an apprentice cannot without having served the period of seven years as such, be entitled to practise, can a mate as such, claim a superior

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right to practise or teach Surgery and take apprentices or scholars without having served the due and legal term in the Army or Navy to qualify him to become a professor or principal or teacher? ”

It seems to have been customary for the mates, both in the Navy and in the Army, to receive some instruction from their superior officers and to pass an examination before promotion. Moreover, it is not clear that the examination for the grand diploma was always of a searching character and a genuine guarantee of competence. The real grievance, though not openly stated, was that these retired officers had paid only a small fee for their examination and certificate at the Hall, had not paid their fine for the freedom of the Company and did not pay the quarterage or obey the Bylaws and yet could compete without hindrance with the regularly authorised Surgeons.

The reply, of course, was that the Company had nothing to offer in return for the great expense involved by the membership.

The Apothecaries, similarly faced with the competition of irregular practitioners, met the difficulty in a different manner. They had attempted in 1747 without success to promote a Bill in Parliament to give them coercive powers ; in 1764 they decided to make the membership of the Society cheap and

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attractive. The redemption fine for "foreigners" was reduced from £30 to 11 guineas ; evidence of having served an apprenticeship, of course, was still required by the Elizabethan Statute. Those who took up the freedom of the Society on these terms were entitled to purchase a share in the laboratory stock, which not only yielded a good dividend but entitled the proprietor to purchase drugs and medicines at a large discount. The plan was so successful that in a few years it was possible to raise the redemption fine to a sum much larger than it had been originally. At the end of the century it was as much as £100

The Surgeons, though they sensed the grievance, did not take precipitate action. The matter had **C.A. Min.,** been discussed first in 1753 when the **July 1, 1773.** Bylaw imposing a penalty on unauthorised Surgeons was passed ; in 1773 a test case was contemplated : It was resolved

" that the Clerk do issue out a summons for Mr. Slade of Chelsea to attend the next monthly Court of Examiners to take up his diploma and that if he neglects to attend the Clerk do sue out a writ against him in order to have the question tried whether having been engaged on the King's service exempts the party from the obligation of being re-examined and taking out a diploma."

In the following month the Clerk was instructed

THE COURT OF EXAMINERS DEBATING THE CAUSE OF GEORGE CLARKE'S
DEATH

Clarke was killed in the Riot at Brentford during the Middlesex election, when Wilkes was returned. (See page 126 *et seq.*)

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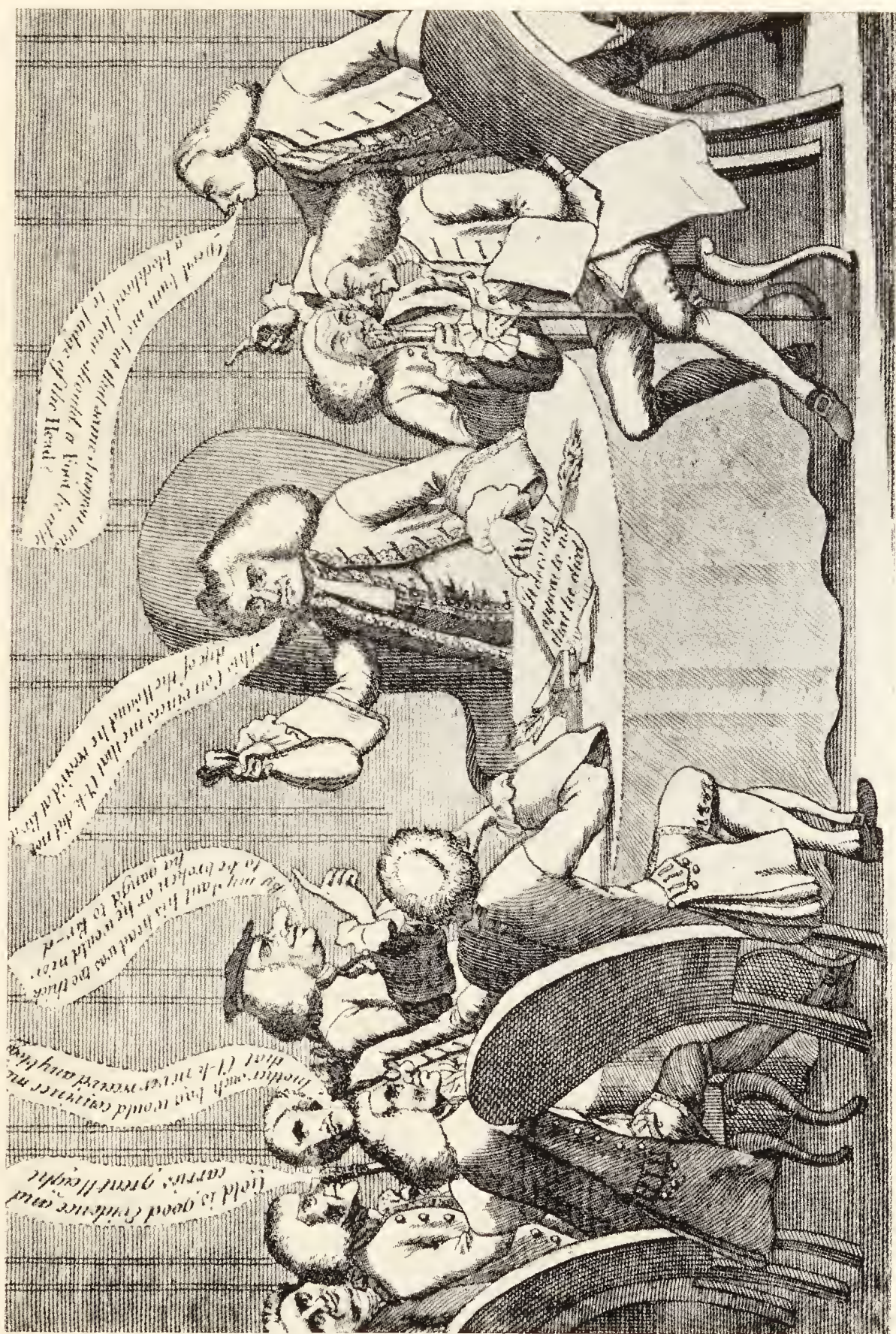
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returned. (See page 120 et seq.)

Clark was killed in the Riot at Brentford during the Middlesex election, when Wilkes was

DEATH

THE COURT OF EXAMINERS DEBATING THE CAUSE OF GEORGE CLARKE'S



Speed from me but that some happy man
a husband here should a kind to the
to judge of the Head?

It does not
appear to me
that he did

His four wives are that I did not
die of the Head he would be

By my hand his head was the thick
to be broken or he would never
be angry to know

Whether such law would ever
that I have never any thing

field is good evidence and
carries great weight

REGULATION OF PRACTICE

to summon to the next Court of Examiners "all those who had pleaded being employed by the Government as an exemption from taking up their diploma" in order that they might be told that the Company intended to sue "such one of them as they shall agree on in order to have the question legally determined." Apparently in spite of the intention thus expressed action was deferred once more. Eighteen months elapsed before the matter was discussed again and decision again postponed.

In 1776 there was published an anonymous letter to the Master Wardens and Court of Assistants by a member of the Corporation voicing the general discontent. He hoped that

"they would no longer continue regardless of the duties of their station nor indolently fill those places of trust they had been elected to."

"If the Court had not sufficient power to suppress irregular practice an application should be made to Parliament."

"If the Corporation could not afford to do this a voluntary subscription should be raised."

"Many members, though well educated, were unable to support themselves and their families decently, and when they died left their widows and children totally destitute."

THE HISTORY OF THE SURGEONS' COMPANY

“ The separation of the Surgeons from the Barbers had been urged on the ground that it would enrich the Company and make it more respectable by restricting the practice of Surgery to men of liberal education and of examined and approved ability.”

“ The Court had admitted foreigners to the freedom for the same fine as apprentices who had paid 400 or 500 guineas to an eminent Surgeon and had served for seven years.”

“ Many Surgeons who were not members of the Corporation had the chief and most lucrative practice and kept their carriages without any restraint ; they had not paid any fine or passed any examination.”

The author indignantly repudiated the request to become an informer which had been made in a circular letter sent by the Court to the members inviting anonymous information about irregular practice.

He made several suggestions ; retired Army and Navy Surgeons practising in London should be made to pay quarterage.

Apothecaries should be allowed to treat gonorrhoea and the itch on paying a fine of five guineas and an annual tax of one guinea.

Apothecaries, on paying three guineas per annum, should be allowed to practise minor Surgery and

REGULATION OF PRACTICE

to treat burns, scalds, sprains, bruises, piles, ulcers, etc.

A printed list of the Apothecaries so licensed should be published.

Surgeons practising Pharmacy should be examined and licensed by the Society of Apothecaries and pay an annual tax.

Inoculators and accoucheurs should be examined and pay a fine and an annual tax for a licence.

Midwives should be examined and licensed and pay a small annual tax of 5s.

Vendors of proprietary remedies should pay 5 per cent of their net profit to a charitable fund.

There is no indication in the records that the Court paid any attention to this protest.

Six years elapsed before the question of irregular practice was brought before the Court again.

At last, in 1782, soon after Cruttenden's resignation and the appointment of Belfour as the new clerk, legal proceedings were instituted.

**C.A. Mins.,
April 6, April
20, 1780.** Belfour reported that an action had been brought against Mr. Walter Farquhar¹ to try the right claimed by the Army and Navy Surgeons to practise Surgery

¹ Later Sir Walter Farquhar, Bart., Physician-in-Ordinary to the Prince of Wales, M.D. Aberdeen, and licentiate of the College of Physicians in 1796. He had joined the Army Medical Service in 1761.

THE HISTORY OF THE SURGEONS' COMPANY

in and within seven miles of the City of London without the grand diploma of the Company.

Counsel's opinion had been taken ; Mr. Davenport said that the Bylaw imposing a penalty of £5 per mensem on all persons practising without the diploma was bad because it did not restrict the penalty to persons practising in London or the seven-mile circuit, but imposed it on all persons practising Surgery without exception. He thought that the Company would be non-suited at the trial.

Bylaw XXV
(of June 18,
1753).

He suggested that Dunning should be consulted.

Dunning agreed that the Bylaw was bad and advised that the action against Farquhar should be discontinued and a new Bylaw made upon which an action could be sustained. He thought that a penalty could be exacted from Army and Navy Surgeons practising in London or within seven miles, if there was a substantial difference between their examination and that for the grand diploma.

The action against Farquhar was dropped and the Court proceeded to draft a new Bylaw. A general revision of the Bylaws was undertaken at the same time, and, after approval by the Lord Chancellor and the two Lord Chief Justices, they were ordered to be printed in the spring of 1783.

C.A. Min.,
April 3, 1783.

The legality of practice by Army and Navy Surgeons remained undecided.

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In 1784 another Act was passed, conferring on retired soldiers and sailors the right to practise their calling without the permission of corporate bodies within whose jurisdiction they might happen to be.

24 Geo. III,
C. 6, re-
pealed 1871.

The Court thought that it was now necessary to come to some decision on the matter

“not only because the retired Surgeons and Surgeons’ mates openly and boastfully defied the authority of the Company, but also on account of their own members, many of whom had loudly and repeatedly complained of the unfair competition.”

A legal decision would affect very materially the authority and revenue of the Company as well as the privileges and endowments of the members.

Okey Belfour, the Clerk, had made an abstract of those parts of the Charters and Statutes which seemed to confer on the Company the right of compulsory examination of those who practised Surgery and also the various opinions of Counsel who had been consulted in the past, thinking that several essential points had not been laid before Counsel.

The Court instructed Belfour to draw up a case and submit it for the opinion of Mr. Bearcroft and Mr. Wilson.

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J. Wilson's opinion, with which Edward Bearcroft concurred, was that the Crown, without an Act of Parliament, could not impose a fine on any person for carrying on a legal employment. Consequently fines could not be imposed by a Royal Charter and retired Army and Navy officers, both Surgeons and mates, were entitled to practise without holding the grand diploma.

Bearcroft added that the powers given by the Charters and Acts of Parliament were not for the benefit of the Company, but for the sake
Opinion dated Jan. 20, 1786. of the public. "It would be a strange proposition that the Company may license men to practise as Surgeons to the Army and Navy who are unqualified to do so in and about London and Westminster."

When these opinions had been received and considered it was resolved unanimously not to bring any action against persons claiming exemption as Surgeons or Surgeons' mates in the Army or Navy.
C.A. Min., Feb. 2, 1786.

The only possible course seemed to be to apply to Parliament for an Act to explain and amend the law and to give the Company additional powers.

A Committee consisting of Watson, Minors, Pitts, Percivall Pott, Adair, Warner, Grindall and Gunning was appointed to consider and report upon the advisability of such action.

This Committee evidently felt that it would

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be useless to apply to Parliament for powers to control the retired Surgeons seeing that
C.A. Min., three Acts had been passed already in
Oct. 5, 1786. their favour.

The report was as follows :

“ It is not proper or necessary to make any application to Parliament to explain and amend the laws now in being relating to Surgery and the vesting this Company with any additional powers, until it shall be legally determined that their present powers are not sufficient to answer the ends and purposes of the institution of the Company with respect to its public utility, but that if a person shall be found not claiming any exemption from the Company’s jurisdiction as a Surgeon or mate in the Army or Navy, who shall refuse to submit to the authority and examination of the Company, it will be proper and necessary to try the question with such person upon the law relating to the Company as it now stands and that the event of such suit will determine the necessity of any application to Parliament for further powers and authorities.”

The retired officers continued to practise without let or hindrance by the Company, and their right to do so was never contested in the law courts.

The nearest approach to a test case was tried in

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Scotland. Alexander Dunlop had been approved as a Surgeons' mate by the Surgeons' Company in London and had served in the Army.

Duncan's
*Memorial of
the Faculty of
P. & S.
Glasgow,*
p. 104.

In 1791 he settled in Glasgow and began to practise.

The Faculty summoned him for examination, but he refused, pleading exemption under the Act of 1784.

24 Geo. III,
c. 6. The case was heard at Edinburgh and dragged on for several years. Dunlop

lost because it was held that the Act was purely retrospective and did not help those who entered the service after it was passed in 1784.

CHAPTER XI

The Surgeons and Midwifery

IN 1783 THE COLLEGE OF PHYSICIANS DECIDED TO grant licences for the practice of midwifery after examination by the Censors' board. The examination could be conducted either in Latin or in English at the discretion of the board.

The majority of the members of the Apothecaries' and Surgeons' Companies practised midwifery, but it was considered desirable for those who held appointments at the Lying-in Hospitals to seek the licence of the College of Physicians. The College required that those who sought its licence to practise Medicine should have obtained an M.D. degree and been disfranchised from the Apothecaries' or Surgeons' Companies if they were members.

Thus, Daniel Peter Layard, M.D. Rheims, in 1742, was appointed Man-Midwife in ordinary to the Middlesex Hospital in 1747. He was disfranchised from the Surgeons' Company in 1751 and was granted the College licence in the following year. William Hunter, who became accoucheur to the British Lying-in Hospital in 1749 and M.D. Glasgow in 1750, was disfranchised from the Surgeons'

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Company and granted the College licence in 1756.

In 1763 James Ford was disfranchised from the Surgeons' Company, acquired the M.D. degree from the Marischal College, Aberdeen, and the licence of the College on being appointed Physician Extraordinary to the Westminster Lying-in Hospital and consulting man-midwife to the Westminster General Dispensary.

Robert Bromfield, the son of William Bromfield the surgeon, took up the freedom of the Company in 1745, and in 1766 became M.D. Aberdeen, was disfranchised and then licensed by the College on becoming Physician to the British Lying-in Hospital.

When the new licence in midwifery was established in 1783 Dr. Denman of the General Lying-in Hospital was the first licentiate; his colleague, William Osborne, M.D. St. Andrew, 1777, also obtained the licence, but though he was a member of the Surgeons' Company had not asked the leave of the Court or obtained disfranchisement; he was told that he had incurred a fine of £20, but this he refused to pay.

Michael Underwood, who was Physician to the British Lying-in Hospital and to the Princess of Wales, was also seeking the new licence. He was informed as to the Bylaw and, unlike Osborne, apologised and paid the fine.

The Court deferred consideration of Osborne's

THE SURGEONS AND MIDWIFERY

case pending enquiries with regard to the nature and operation of the College licence.

Six months later Osborne attended the Court ; he pleaded ignorance of the Bylaw and said that he had no intention to offend the Court.

Nine more months elapsed and then the Court decided to take Counsel's opinion with regard to the operation of the Bylaw in Osborne's case.

In the case presented to Counsel it was stated that the Court had demanded the penalty of £20 from Osborne " to prevent a precedent being established which may in time tend to serious inconvenience by blending the two professions too much together."

Le Blanc held that Osborne was not liable for the fine ; he had taken a licence, but had not become a member of the College.

C.A. Min.,
April 23,
1785.

The King's Bench in a recent dispute had held that a licentiate in medicine of the College was not a member.¹

Even if Osborne were a member of the College he would not incur the penalty seeing the College of Physicians was not a City Company.

The attitude of the College toward the practice of midwifery was peculiar :

¹ Presumably refers to the action brought by Archer and Fothergill against the College of Physicians and decided in favour of the College in 1771. *C.P. Annals*, June 7th, 1771.

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In 1752 Dr. Nicholls had offered to endow a lectureship on the subject if the College would establish an institution for the training of Midwives. The College refused the offer.

In 1771 the Statutes were revised and ordered that
“no one shall be admitted as a candidate who has practised as an apothecary or obstetrician or as a tradesman, and if any candidate after admission practises as an apothecary or obstetrician or tradesman he is to be expelled.”

In 1783 the licence in midwifery was introduced, the examination being conducted in Latin or English at the option of the Censors' board.

In 1788 the College thought that it would not be agreeable for any Apothecary to become a licentiate in midwifery, and in the following year ordered that the examination was to be conducted in Latin.

In 1794 a Statute was passed ordering that

“No one shall be granted the licence to practise midwifery who prepares medicines for administration to the sick for his own profit or has them prepared by an agent or being a member of some society in any way shares in the business of profit of Pharmacy. Furthermore, before anyone is examined if perchance he was a member of the Surgeons' or Apothecaries' Companies he must renounce all the privileges of those Companies

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and produce to the Registrar the certificate of disfranchisement.

Furthermore, all the examinations shall be conducted in Latin."

The Statute giving the Censors' board the option to use English was formally repealed.

This was followed in 1795 by instructions to the College officers to draft a Statute to authorise the President to refuse to examine for the licence to practise physic any person employed as a Surgeon or an Apothecary.

Though the Surgeons claimed that the manual part of midwifery was surgical, and though since man-midwifery had become popular the majority of the members of the Company, like the Apothecaries, practised as midwives, the eighth Bylaw was still enforced and excluded from the Courts of Assistants and Examiners anyone practising midwifery.

In 1788 it was moved and seconded at a meeting of the Court that this cause for exclusion should not operate any longer, but after debate
C.A. Min., the motion was lost on a ballot and the
July 3, 1788. proposal was not discussed again during the life of the Company.

This excluding Bylaw and the neglect to examine in midwifery was the cause of much adverse criticism of the Surgeons during the agitation which led to the passing of the Apothecaries' Act in 1815.

CHAPTER XII

Financial History

IN 1745 IN ORDER TO DEFRAY THE COST OF THE parliamentary proceedings a guarantee fund had been raised by the Surgeons. Fifty-two had subscribed five guineas apiece and twenty-nine one guinea, a total of £303 9s.

In addition Cheselden lent £550.

The receipts during the first year from fines paid by the new members of the Court, and for freedoms granted after servitude or to "foreign brothers" were so satisfactory that during the year the subscribers were paid back their subscriptions in full, Cheselden's loan was repaid, a fine of £200 was paid to the City for the Old Bailey Estate, £450 had been paid for the expenses of promoting the Act, seven East India bonds were bought and there remained a cash balance in July, 1746, of £155 9s. 10d.

The Arris gift of £510 which had been paid over by the Barbers together with £15 17s. 1d. interest was treated as income and in the records of the Company does not appear anywhere as a trust fund of which the income was set apart for a specific purpose.

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In a like manner the Gale annuity of £16 was paid into the common fund. The accounts for the first year show that the fine for admission to the Court of Assistants was £21. Five of the Assistants of the new Company had not been members of the Court of the united Company; their contribution to the corporate fund amounted to £105.

Accounts
1746-7.

The fine for the grand diploma together with the freedom and livery was £21 2s. Over £840 came from this source

To encourage foreign brothers to join their fine was fixed at £12 14s. 6d., and from this source over £200 accrued in the first year.

In 1749 a resolution was passed that

“wishing to show a particular regard to those gentlemen who served as Surgeons to the hospitals abroad during the late war, the Court agrees to admit them to the grand diploma on the same terms as the first members of the Society,”

i.e., for £21 2s. 6d. These Surgeons had joined the Army as mates and since the Act of 1745 had been examined for fitness for that post by the Surgeons' Company, but had not passed the higher examination.

The fine on binding an apprentice was two guineas. Nine were bound during the year.

THE HISTORY OF THE SURGEONS' COMPANY

In July, 1746, the Company held India bonds for £400 and had a cash balance of £155 9s. 10d.

In 1747 the holding of India bonds had increased to £600, but the cash balance was only £138 13s. 11d. During the year the India bonds were sold to defray the expense incurred in the purchase of the Old Bailey site and in July, 1748, the total assets of the Company were shown as £66 os. 11d.

In 1750 the Company borrowed £4000 from certain of its members, issuing in return forty bonds for £100 bearing interest at the rate of 4 per cent per annum. This sum was invested in India bonds which were sold as required for payment to the builder. The executors of Scott, the builder, received a final payment in full in 1754.

In July, 1755, all the India bonds had been sold and the cash balance was reduced to £5 5s. 8d. and there was the outstanding debt of £4000, the service of which required £160 a year.

In addition, the rent payable to the City was £60, the salary of the Clerk £60 and the Beadle £20, and the cost of the upkeep of the Hall. The assured income was small. There was not any invested capital; the tenant, Clarke, paid £25 per annum; there was the Gale annuity of £16 which was treated as income, and the quarterage of the members who seem to have numbered about two hundred and therefore provided merely £100. The income derived from fines and diploma fees was variable and uncertain.

FINANCIAL HISTORY

In spite of the unsatisfactory financial position it does not appear that there was any anxiety or that any effort was made to curtail expenses. The annual dinner was held as usual; 67 attended, paying the customary 5s. apiece. Though the contributions totalled only £16 15s., the cook was paid £40 6s. 6d., and syllabub was provided at the cost of £3.

The Clerk was given the usual gratuity of £40 and the Beadle £10.

The optimism seems to have been justified to some extent seeing that at the end of the year the cash balance had risen to £68 5s. 10d., and then year by year there was a gradual increase until 1759, when a balance of £255 justified the purchase of an India bond. In 1762 two more such bonds were bought, but in this year Nourse died, and his executors asked for the repayment of the ten bonds held by him. To meet the difficulty the Court agreed to raise the interest on all the bonds to 5 per cent for seven years.

From 1763 to 1766 the cash balance at the end of each year gradually diminished until in 1765 it was only £26 7s.

When a committee was appointed in 1766 to consider improvements in the system of anatomical lectures, their report dealt not only with the problem of teaching, but also urged the need of financial reform.

C.A. Min.,
Sept. 28,
1758.

C.A. Min.,
July 23,
1766.

THE HISTORY OF THE SURGEONS' COMPANY

They suggested that the quarterage should be raised, seeing that the present yield was insufficient to pay the interest on the bonds and that the fees for examinations and for the diplomas should be increased, but that the fine for refusing to serve the anatomical offices should be reduced from £21 to £5 5s., seeing that Masters of Anatomy were not to be appointed in future.

The fee for the diploma entitling practice in London was increased by two guineas and became £27 8s. 6d. for those who had not been apprenticed at the Hall and £23 4s. 6d. for those who had been apprenticed.

An addition of one guinea was made for the diploma for practice outside the seven-mile radius, making the cost £13 4s. 3d. for those who had not been bound at the Hall and £11 12s. 3d. for those who had duly served their time.

The fee for binding an apprentice was raised from two to three guineas.

**C.A. Min.,
July 23, 1766
and C.E.
Resolution,
Sept. 6, 1770.**

The examination fee for qualification to act as Surgeon to a regiment had been one and a half guineas and to an army hospital one guinea; both were now to cost three guineas.

The fee for qualification as mate to a hospital or regiment became 10s. 6d.

Similar increases were made for candidates for naval appointments.

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Half a guinea was added to each Surgeon's fee so that a Surgeon appointed to a ship of the first or second rate paid three guineas, two and a half guineas for a third or fourth rate and two guineas for a fifth or sixth rate.

Two shillings and sixpence was added to a first mate's fee making it 13s.

The second mate's fee remained at 5s. 6d. and a third mate did not have to pay anything.

Fees paid for the examinations for junior appointments were deducted from the fees for the higher appointments when the candidates came up to be examined for promotion.

The fee for examination for appointment as Surgeon to the East India Company was £2 12s. 6d., for mate 10s. 6d.

The proposal of an increase in the quarterage was put before a general meeting of the Company as required by the Bylaws. The committee had recommended an increase to 5s. a quarter, but the Court proposed that should be only 4s. a quarter, that is to say, 16s. a year instead of 10s.

C.A. Min.,
Aug. 12, 1766.

The members of the Court agreed that they would pay double the increase, making their contribution £1 2s. instead of the former 10s.

ib., July 9,
1767.

The new scale of fees did not help much at first ; in July, 1767, there was a deficit in the cash balance

THE HISTORY OF THE SURGEONS' COMPANY

of £238 12s. 7d. There was a slight reduction in July, 1768, to £207 10s. 10d.

To meet the deficit in these years money was advanced by the Clerk. To repay him the India bonds were sold, but measures of economy were not introduced.

The subscriptions for the annual dinner amounted to fifteen guineas ; the cost to £46 12s. 6d.

The sale of the India bonds once more provided a small credit balance in the cash box, but none of the forty bonds had been redeemed.

The rebuilding of Newgate by the City brought relief ; the Company was able to sell back a portion of its land to the building committee for £900, and the Clerk in addition received £50 in compensation for the loss of his garden. Though the site was thus reduced, the rent of the part retained remained unchanged.

The audit in July, 1769, showed a cash balance of £922 9s. 1d. and out of this six India bonds were bought.

The seven years during which the Company had undertaken to pay 5 per cent interest on its bonds had now expired and it was found possible to revert to the former figure of 4 per cent. An offer was made to the holders to redeem any of their bonds should they so desire ; some of the members of the Court took up at 4 per cent the bonds of those who claimed repayment.

**C.A. Min.,
Oct. 5, 1769.**

FINANCIAL HISTORY

Fullager died in 1771 and the Court ordered the repayment to his executors of the bonds held by him. The accounts do not record any repayment of capital and the interest paid on the bonds remained at £160 for several more years. Presumably the bonds were transferred to some member of the Court.

From this time onwards each year showed an increase in the balance due mainly to improved receipts from the examinations.

For some reason the money was allowed to accumulate and was not invested.

In 1776 the balance was £1414 6s. 7d.; reduction of the debt was then considered desirable. The six India bonds were sold and five bonds held by Mr. Cotton and nine held by Serjeant Hawkins were redeemed; the debt was thus reduced to £2600 and in July, 1778, there was still an uninvested cash balance of £880 4s. 2d.

Hitherto the custody of the Company's money had been left entirely in the hands of the clerk, Joseph Cruttenden, and was checked only by the annual audit due to be held each July, but often postponed for several months.

More business-like methods seemed desirable and in 1778 a new system of financial control was inaugurated.

John Belchier, who had been a Surgeon to Guy's

THE HISTORY OF THE SURGEONS' COMPANY

Hospital from 1736 to 1768, was appointed Auditor General, and the Court of Examiners **C.A. Min., July 2, 1778.** was constituted the finance committee with the addition of Belchier who, though a member of the Court of Assistants, was not an examiner.

This finance committee was instructed to meet before each monthly examination and to control all the accounts of the Company, presenting a statement at each quarterly Court of Assistants.

Cruttenden had been clerk since the foundation of the Company in 1745 and doubt had evidently arisen with regard to the desirability of leaving a large cash balance in his hands without any supervision.

The Committee soon discovered some irregularities ; bills had been left unpaid for long periods.

ib., Nov. 19, 1778. For instance, a sum of £315 6s. 9d. was owing to Mr. Hall, the carpenter, for

ib., Oct. 14, 1779. work done since 1770 ; moreover it

seemed fairly certain that Cruttenden had not kept the Company's money separately from his own and it became necessary to accept his bond for £300 at 4 per cent interest.

The Committee, however, had no suspicion that all was not well with their affairs and in January, 1780, gave notice to Sir Cæsar Hawkins that his remaining six bonds would be redeemed at Midsummer.

HENRY VIII GRANTING THE CHARTER TO THE BARBER-SURGEONS' COMPANY

The top picture was painted by Holbein in 1540-1541. Pepys records that it was damaged at the time of the Fire of London, and it is supposed that when the picture was restored the tablet was painted over the window.

The lower picture is supposed to be the copy which James I ordered to be made in 1618. This copy was bought by the Surgeons' Company at a sale of pictures by Monsieur Desenfans in 1786 for fifty guineas, but the history of the picture between 1618 and 1786 is not known. A view of Old St. Paul's is to be seen through the window.

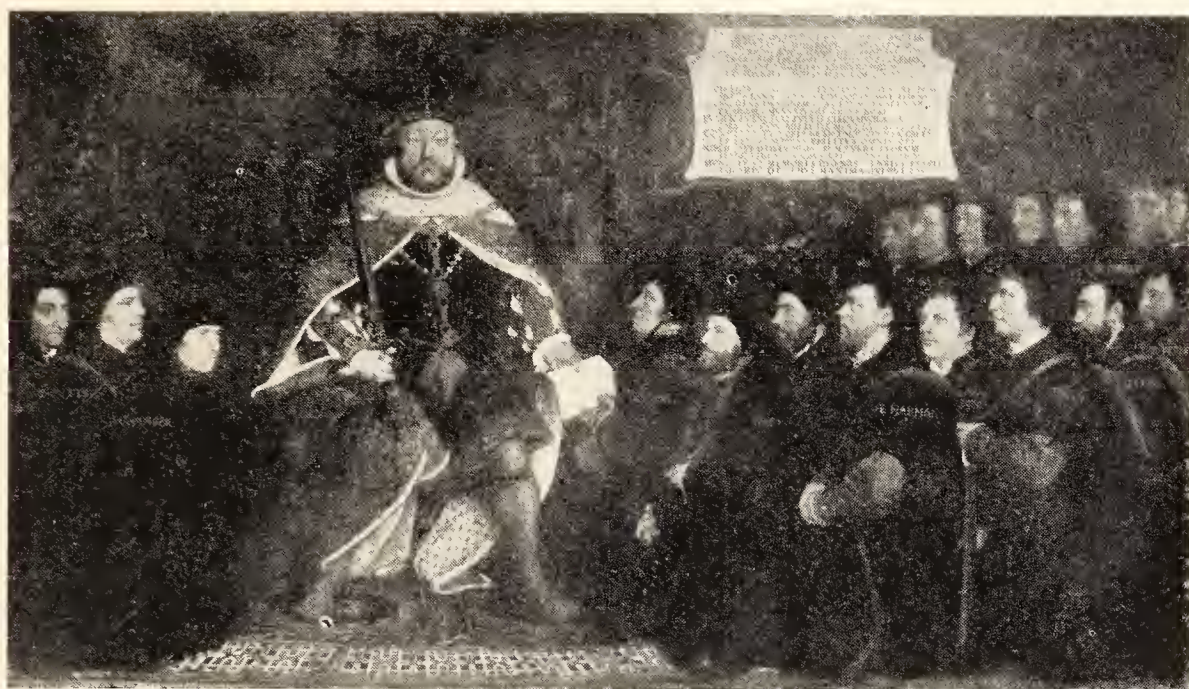
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Top picture reproduced by permission of the Worshipful Company of Barbers. Bottom picture reproduced by permission of the Royal College of Surgeons.



FINANCIAL HISTORY

When they met on March 2nd, 1780, the Company's assets should have been :

	£	s.	d.
Cash in hand	509	0	5
Cruttenden's bond	300	0	0
Interest on this bond since Oct. 16 .	5	15	0
Certificate money received ¹ . . .	8	8	0
Interest on the Company's bonds charged by Cruttenden but not paid by him	40	0	0
	<hr/>		
	863	3	5
Deduct sum due to Cruttenden	25	16	0
	<hr/>		
	837	7	5
	<hr/>		

All this money had disappeared and the only funds possessed by the Company were £74 8s., the net proceeds of the examination held on that day. The liabilities were :

	£	s.	d.
Outstanding bills	170	15	0
Rent	60	1	4
Interest on the bonds to Xmas .	40	0	0
Beadle's salary	15	0	0
	<hr/>		
	£285	16	4
	<hr/>		

¹ For certifying ship's Surgeon's journals at 3s. 6d. each.

THE HISTORY OF THE SURGEONS' COMPANY

Notice was given to Sir Cæsar Hawkins that it would not be possible to redeem his bonds at the time appointed.

At the Quarterly Court, on March 16th, a letter from Cruttenden was read in which he tendered his resignation. It was resolved that
ib., Mar. 16, 1780. “on account of the peculiar situation of his affairs the consideration of his resignation be postponed until an answer is received from him to a letter which Mr. Pott has engaged to write.”

The answer was received in April, and having considered it the Court received Cruttenden's resignation and declared a vacancy in the office of Clerk. Okey Belfour was appointed by ballot shortly afterwards.

Gunning in his famous Phillipic delivered in 1790 at the end of his year of office, said that

“Cruttenden received and kept the income, did not pay or produce the bills and was even lent £300 by the Committee on his own bond. When, a few months later, the money was called for the confidential servant was not to be found.”

“He had absconded with £800 or £900 and the security for his fidelity in his possession.”

John Ring, in 1798, quoted Gunning's statement and added that “the Court had not even troubled to enquire into his defalcations.”

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Gunning's statement doubtless was in the main correct, but as he did not join the Court of Assistants until 1784 he did not speak from personal knowledge of all the facts.

The minute book does not give many particulars. On April 6th, Pott reported that he had received an

ib., July 6,
1780.

answer from Cruttenden and in consequence of this the Court accepted his resignation and declared a vacancy in the office of Clerk. It seems certain that the Court did not make any attempt to recover the money or initiate any legal action against their defaulting clerk. Furthermore, when Cruttenden

ib., July 20,
1780.

wrote in July offering to the Company any of his furniture they desired and asking permission to sell the rest, the Court refused to accept the gift, but agreed to take the furniture in the room next the Committee room at a valuation and to allow the remainder to be sold. The account book shows that the Company paid Cruttenden £42 for the furniture which was kept.

Thirty-five years' service on terms of intimacy with all the members of the Court may have prompted the generosity. The selection as an envoy of Percival Pott, who had married a Miss Cruttenden in 1746, suggests an additional incentive to leniency though the similarity of name is the only clue to relationship.

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Shortly after Pott's death in 1788, Mrs. Cruttenden appealed to the Court to grant her a pension to begin after her husband's death. It was
ib., Jan. 1,
1789. decided to postpone consideration of the request until he died. The minutes do not record any further reference to Cruttenden or his wife.

The Finance Committee, which consisted of the Court of Examiners together with Belchier, the Auditor-General, immediately proceeded to investigate matters.

It is perhaps noteworthy that though all the other members attended regularly, Pott was present only at the final session.

The Committee inserted advertisements in the daily papers asking all persons having claims upon the Company to send their accounts to the Theatre sealed and addressed to the Master and Wardens.

The outstanding debts were then paid off.

During the four months following Cruttenden's departure the receipts from the Court of Examiners were very satisfactory, amounting to £537 14s. 6d. The expenditure had been £462 12s. 1d., so that the cash balance was £75 2s. 5d., but there was a debt of £1600 carrying interest at 4 per cent on the bonds which had not been redeemed.

The annual dinner was not held owing to the state of the Company's affairs and the function was not revived until 1785.

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Each quarterly statement from now onwards showed an increase in the balance. The debts

ib., April 5, 1781. were paid regularly and the financial position was so satisfactory that the

Company was able to subscribe in April, 1781, £100 to the fund for the victims of the hurricane in the West Indies, and in the following July to redeem six bonds from Sir Cæsar Hawkins, thus reducing the debt to £1000.

ib., Jan. 3, April 4, 1782. In April, 1782, five of Mr. Nourse's ten bonds were redeemed by the Company and the remaining five were bought by Mr. Pinkstan, a member of the Court.

ib., April 4. At the same time it was agreed that any member of the Court attending an anatomy lecture should receive five shillings.

In October, 1782, the cash balance was £622 16s. 7d. and out of this £306 17s. 9d. was invested in the purchase of India bonds.

In 1783 five more India bonds were bought and at the end of the year the remaining six of the Company's bonds now held by Mr. Pinkstan were redeemed.

To permit this two of the India bonds were sold, but in July, 1784, the Annual Statement showed that the Company was out of debt, held six India bonds and had a cash balance of £511 12s. 3d.

The debt incurred by building the Hall having been paid off, it became necessary under the 31st

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Bylaw to convene a meeting of the whole Company to consider reduction of the quarterage.

Two hundred and ninety-five members had been summoned by the beadle through the penny post to meet at the Hall on 4th November.

Seventy-eight members attended.

In the absence of Joseph Warner, the Master, the chair was taken by Henry Watson, the senior warden. He explained briefly the financial position and showed that though the present quarterage of 16s. for the general body and 22s. for the members of the Court could be reduced, it could not be discontinued. It was decided unanimously that the quarterage in future should be 10s. per annum.

Watson then announced that the 29th Bylaw forbade the provision of the Annual Dinner at the Company's expense. The dinner was evidently a popular function and it was agreed that it should be held in the following August, each member attending to pay 10s. 6d. instead of 5s., as in former years.

When the dinner was held the Bylaw seems to have been forgotten. Two hundred and ninety-six notices were sent out and seventy-eight accepted.

ib., Aug. 4, 1785. The receipts, therefore, came to £40 19s.

The bill for the dinner was paid by the Company and amounted to £95 17s.

Presumably the Court thought that the celebration

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was justified, seeing that the cash balance shown in July was £1107 2s. 11d., in addition to the holding of six India bonds.

In subsequent years the dinners were held regularly, those attending paying 10s. 6d. each, while the dinners cost £1 to £1 10s. per head.

The affairs of the Company continued to prosper and the cash balance increased, but for some reason not explained this surplus was not invested. It was allowed to accumulate in the iron box and a greater freedom of expenditure was sanctioned.

ib., Jan. 5,
1786. Thus in 1786 the clerk was allowed £25 per annum for wages and maintenance of a servant.

Charitable donations now begin to appear in the accounts ; in 1786 a Surgeon and Apothecary of Godstone, Surrey, was murdered and left a widow and six children totally unprovided for. A public subscription was raised and the Company gave twenty guineas ; they also gave twenty guineas to the widow of John Row, a member who had died insolvent.

ib., Oct. 5,
1786. These donations, however, were only occasional and were made from the Corporation funds only when the poor box was empty. At no time did the Company organise a separate fund for widows or distressed members.

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Annuities were sometimes granted ; in 1789 Mrs. Horsley, the widow of a member, was given £10 10s. and an annuity of £8 8s. during the pleasure of the Court.

ib., Oct. 1,
1789.

In July, 1786, the funds in hand exceeded £1100 and then eight more India bonds were bought, increasing the holding to fourteen. In 1787 the number held was raised to twenty-one, and in 1788 these were sold for £2186 10s. 6d. and the proceeds with an addition were invested in £3800 3 per cent consolidated bank annuities at the cost of £2873 15s. After this any surplus beyond current needs was added to the invested capital until in 1796 the holding was £17,000. The highest price paid being $90\frac{1}{8}$ in 1793 ; and the lowest $62\frac{1}{8}$ in 1795.

In 1787 the attendance money for the Court of Assistants and for the Court of Examiners, when there was no candidate for the grand diploma, was raised from 2s. 6d. to 10s. 6d. ; at the same time the fee for examining Surgeons' mates for the Navy, Army or East India Company was raised to £1 1s. These fees were paid without deduction by the examiners to the corporate funds.

ib., Feb. 1.
1787.

In 1789 John Gunning was elected to the Court of Examiners and appointed Master. He had been a member of the Court of Assistants since 1784, but for long the control of the affairs of the Company

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had been entrusted to the examiners, and a mere assistant had but little authority.

He signalised his advent to power by criticising the procedure sanctioned by his colleagues. At the Quarterly Court in January, 1790, he drew attention to the 29th Bylaw which ordered that

“ for the future all public dinners of the Company shall be had at such time and place only as the Master and Governors or any two of them shall appoint and the expense shall be defrayed by voluntary subscription.”

He urged the impropriety of the Company being put to any expense on account of the Annual Dinner. This point had been emphasised by Watson at the General Meeting of members in 1784, but the only result had been the raising of the price of the dinner ticket from 5s. to 10s. 6d., the Company as in the past had continued to contribute large sums towards the cost ; in the last five years they had spent £390 in this way.

The private court had dinner at the Company's expense whenever they met for business and frequently invited guests ; these dinners, until about twenty-five years previously, had cost but 4s. or 5s. per head, but recently the charge per person had risen to 18s. or 19s.

In one year there had been as many as twenty-five such dinners, and in the previous eight and

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a half years the money thus spent had exceeded £1300.

Gunning proposed that the number of dinners provided annually at the expense of the Company should not exceed twelve—four for the whole Court, of which the cost should not exceed twelve guineas, and eight for the Court of Examiners at their monthly meetings with the cost limited to six guineas.

The Company, he said, should not contribute anything toward the cost of the Annual Dinner, and he objected to the custom of the Master, Wardens and Clerk meeting at dinner to arrange the function and spending 20s. or 30s. a head from the corporate funds.

In July, 1790, when his term of office expired, he elaborated his criticism of the Company's financial arrangements in the form of a farewell address which came to be known as "Gunning's Phillipic."

The prosperity of the Company seemed assured. During the year the invested capital had been increased by £2500 and now stood at £6300, and there was a cash balance of £309 7s. 7d. and all liabilities had been met.

Gunning urged that if his proposals were adopted there would be an annual saving of more than £170 on the Court dinners and £50 or £60 on the Annual Dinner.

His further remarks he classified under six headings :

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1. *Business.*

The constitution of the Company made the clerk responsible to the Master and Wardens for the year ; the Master and Wardens were responsible to the Court of Assistants and the Court of Assistants to the Company at large.

The late clerk, he said, had kept the books in a very irregular manner and bills had not been discharged punctually. The new clerk had introduced improvements.

The minutes of the Court of Examiners had not been recorded and those of the Court of Assistants had been drawn by the clerk and had not been signed by the Master.

Until 1778 the Company's accounts had been kept in a very unbusinesslike way. The Master and Wardens for the year had been responsible for the expenditure and had to get this expenditure approved by a group of auditors on relinquishing office. At first the audit had been conducted in July, but before long postponement had been customary and sometimes it had not been held until February or March of the following year.

Consequently the officers had been out of office for a long period before their accounts were passed.

In 1778 a finance committee and an auditor-general had been appointed and a code of rules for their guidance had been drawn up.

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If the rules had been observed and the bills had been paid promptly the Company would not have incurred the loss of its money in 1780 when Cruttenden absconded.

Gunning suggested that the Company should not any longer provide dinners for the examiners, but that each examiner should receive 10s. 6d. for his attendance, and that the finance committee should meet at the Hall an hour before the examination in order to consider the accounts.

The minutes of the Court of Examiners should be recorded and signed by the Master, and a book of standing orders should be compiled.

2. *The Hall.*

The Hall cost originally between £4000 and £5000, the rent and taxes amounted to about £250 per annum, so that with an allowance for repairs the cost to the Company was about £500 per annum.

3. *Servants.*

Perquisites granted in 1786 had increased by a third. In 1784 the clerk's establishment, including salary, gratuity, coal, candles, wood and turnery, amounted to £160 or £170 per annum. In 1786 a grant of £25 per annum for a servant was added. Other additions had been made. Last year the clerk had charged £84 for the coals, candles, wood, and turnery for his own use only. His place was

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now worth £230 per annum. Gunning thought that 25 per cent of the Company's income was too much for the clerk.

The beadle was not a whole-time officer, but his salary had been increased recently from £33 to £44 per annum.

In the case of both clerk and beadle the gratuities of £40 and £10 respectively which were authorised by the Bylaws had become permanent.

4. *Anatomy lectures.*

In spite of the Arris and Gale endowments no lectures of importance in Anatomy or Surgery had been instituted. The feeble attempts hitherto made had been shamefully expensive. Thirty or £40 had been spent on a course of six lectures, not taking into account the cost of getting the the subjects for dissection.

In the last year £3 had been paid to men to attend executions, though there had not been any lectures.

The payment of money to members of the Court for attending the lectures should cease.

It would not be possible to establish a school of Anatomy at the Hall, but lectures on Surgery should be given and the professor should be paid. Attendance at the lectures should be free and a gold medal should be offered each year for competition amongst the students.

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5. *Charities.*

The amount given in charity by the Company was very small. Gunning thought that at least £80 per annum should be allocated for the relief of the widows and children of Surgeons.

6. *Library.*

A library ought to be established and a maintenance grant of at least £80 per annum allocated to it.

Gunning proposed the appointment of a retrenchment committee to consider his suggestions.

The Master (Charles Hawkins) and Wardens (William Lucas and Edmund Pitts), with Messrs. Warner, Grindall, Minors and Gunning, were appointed.

This committee met and, on 7th October, presented to the Court of Assistants a long report containing nineteen specific recommendations, all of which were adopted unanimously. Many of the recommendations merely concerned the procedure at the Courts and the finance committee meetings.

**C.A. Min.,
Oct. 7, 1790.**

The finance committee was to consist of three members only instead of the whole body of examiners. They were given a fairly free hand in the control of expenditure, but were to report regularly to the Court.

The Clerk's salary was to be £170 per annum

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without any perquisites except twenty chaldron of coal for the use of his apartments and the Hall.

The Beadle's salary was to be £40 per annum without any perquisites.

A lecture fund was to be established, derived from

- (1) Gale's annuity of £16 per annum.
- (2) The interest on the £500 given by Arris.
- (3) The interest on £1300 accumulated from fines for not serving anatomical office.

A Professor of Surgery was to be appointed to give a course of sixteen lectures ; he was to receive £80 for the course, and out of this he was to defray all expenses.

Mention was not made of Gunning's suggestions with regard to a charity fund or to the endowment of a library.

The financial proposals were carried into effect. The Masters and Wardens were appointed as the finance committee and the Clerk and Beadles salaries were fixed and perquisites were forbidden.

In the following July Abernethy was reappointed Professor of Anatomy, and Gunning was made a Professor of Surgery, but declined to serve.

ib., July 7,
1791.

He was free with his criticism and advice, but preferred that others should do the work. His suggestion that fees should be given to the examiners

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instead of dinners evidently did not meet with his colleagues' approval.

Under the new financial system the Company prospered ; in April, 1796, there was a cash balance of £730 7s. 3d. in addition to a holding in the bank annuities of £16,400.

An epitome of the annual audits from 1746 to 1799 is given in Appendix 7, page 238.

CHAPTER XIII

The Dissolution of the Company—The Surgeons' Bill

THE RECORDS OF THE CITY LANDS COMMITTEE reveal the fact that as early as 1791 the Company had expressed a desire to surrender the lease of the premises in the Old Bailey.

**City Lands
Committee,
Mar. 23, 1791.**

The first entry referring to the subject in the Company's minutes records that on 19th May, 1796, a special court was held to consider a report from Mr. Neill, a surveyor, upon the condition of the Hall and Theatre; he estimated that the necessary repairs would cost £1600 and pointed out that the lease had only fifty-five years to run and that the ground rent and taxes amounted to about £240 per annum.

**C.A. Min.,
May 19, 1796.**

The Court was informed that the Court of Examiners had frequently considered the advantage of selling the Hall and Theatre and building a new one on a freehold site. They had instructed the Clerk to empower Messrs. Skinner, Wyke & Skinner to sell it by public auction and the sale had been advertised for May 27th.

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This action of the Court of Examiners was *ultra vires* ; in 1790 the Master and Wardens had been appointed as a finance committee, but
ib., Oct. 7,
1790. their authority had been strictly limited ; their expenditure without leave of the Court had been limited to £30. Moreover, the Court of Assistants had then decided that resolutions with regard to money payments and other acts of the Court were to become effective only after confirmation at a subsequent court.

In spite of these resolutions the Court of Examiners had given instructions for the sale of the Hall and had entered into negotiations for the purchase of other premises.

Even when this special Court of Assistants was called it was not legally formed. The Master, William Cooper, was present and eighteen assistants, but both Wardens were absent.

Wyatt, the senior Warden, had had an apoplectic stroke and Walker, the junior Warden, was dead.

These irregularities were ignored ; the sale of the Hall was approved provided that a good offer was obtained. A committee consisting of Messrs. Lucas, Howard, Earle, Long and Birch was appointed and given full power to act on behalf of the Court. The Clerk was authorised to affix the Company's seal to an assignment.

The irregularities of procedure were numerous.

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The Court of Examiners had acted without the authority of the full Court; the full Court when called was not legally entitled to act, seeing that only one of the three Governors was present and even if it had been legally constituted, it is doubtful whether it had the right to sell the property of the Company without calling a general meeting of the members; and finally by its own standing order, a financial resolution could not become effective until it had been confirmed by a subsequent Court. The next Court after that in May did not meet until the election day in July. This Court again was not legally constituted seeing that the Master was the only Governor present. However, the minutes of the previous Court were confirmed and the election of officers for the ensuing year proceeded as if all was in order.

Isaac Minors became Master and Gunning and Earle were appointed Wardens.

Gunning reported that when the Hall was put up for auction the highest bid was £200 less than the reserve.

The sale committee was reappointed with the addition of Isaac Minors, the new Master, and Gunning, the new senior Warden.

The Committee at first was more active in seeking a new house than in attempting to sell the old one; it is true that they had heard that the City probably would buy the Hall to add to Newgate, but they had no certain knowledge.

ib., Sept. 9,
1796.

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They had seen a freehold house in Lincoln's Inn Fields,¹ and they had entered into treaty with Mr. William Baldwin of the Middle Temple, the owner, who at first asked £8000, but after much bargaining had agreed to accept £5500, including all fixtures ; the payment was to be made, if the Court of Assistants agreed, by the transfer of bank annuities at the price of 58 per cent. By the time the Court met they had fallen to 56 per cent.

The Court approved the scheme and authorised the Committee to continue negotiations.

The title deeds were submitted to Mr. Shadwell, who gave his approval, but pointed out that the Company's licence in mortmain to hold freehold estates did not extend to the value of Mr. Baldwin's

¹ At the end of the minute book of the Court of Examiners is a record of a meeting said to have been held "at their house in Lincoln's Inn Fields on 4th June, 1795." The meetings on 11th May and 18th June and subsequently, were held at the old Hall and the first meeting in the orderly sequence of the body of the book held at Lincoln's Inn Fields is dated 4th May, 1797.

The records state that William Walker was present at the meeting in June, 1795.

He died in 1796, before the proposal for the purchase of the house in Lincoln's Inn Fields had been submitted to the Court of Assistants.

The use of the house for an examination two years before it was bought is not explained.

It is not stated whether the owner of the house in Lincoln's Inn Fields was the Mr. Baldwin who advised the Company with regard to the encroachment at the Sessions House in 1792.

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house. It would be necessary, therefore, for the property to be conveyed to trustees. The Committee named the Master and Wardens as trustees, and the draft of the conveyance was prepared.

In October, it was reported to the Court that the
ib., Oct. 6, Court of Lieutenancy of the City of
1796. London had agreed to buy the Hall for
£2100, but it is not recorded who conducted the negotiations.

The Committee for purchasing the new house protested against the sale at this price, but without avail.

In January, 1797, the City Militia paid £1050 and promised to pay the balance with 5 per cent interest on 11th October, 1797.

Neither capital nor interest, however, had been paid when the Company was transformed into the Royal College of Surgeons in 1800.

Jan. 5, The Court met for the first time at
1797. Lincoln's Inn Fields on 5th January,
1797.

£9482 15s. 1d. bank annuities had been transferred to Mr. Baldwin and the house had been conveyed to the Master and Wardens (Minors, Gunning and Earle). The bank annuities owned by the Company now amounted to £10,135 7s. 5d., and were held in the names of Lucas, Samuel Howard, Charles Hawkins and Gunning. The cash balance was £588 2s. 10d.

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It is curious in the light of after events that at no time during the negotiations was any mention made of the irregularity of the meetings at which the sale of the Hall and the purchase of the new house were decided. It was held later that this irregularity led automatically to the dissolution of the Company.

In its new home the prosperity of the Company continued and when in April, 1800, the Charter converted it into the Royal College of Surgeons, the cash balance was £2862 16s. 7d. in addition to the holding of £10,135 7s. 5d. consolidated 3 per cent bank annuities and the unpaid debt of £1050 due from the City Militia with interest at 5 per cent accumulated since October, 1796.

In October, 1796, in consequence of Shadwell's remarks about the extent of the Company's licence **C.A. Min.,** to hold freehold estates in mortmain, **Oct. 6, 1796.** the Court appointed a committee to consider the propriety of applying to Parliament for permission to revise the Bylaws.

The Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh and the College of Physicians of London were asked to send copies of their Bylaws for inspection ; those of the Royal College of Surgeons of Dublin were already in the Company's possession.

The Edinburgh College which had received its new Charter and Royal title in 1778 complied at once, but the London College " objected to let their

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statutes and Bylaws be in the hands of any other corporation.” They offered to answer any particular question.

The Committee consulted Erskine, Gibbs and Warren as Counsel and in March, 1797, the draft bill was laid before the Court which now
ib., Jan. 5, 1797. held its meetings in the new house in Lincoln’s Inn Fields. It suggested the change of title from Company to College and proposed a ruling body of a President, two vice-Presidents, six Censors and twelve Councillors.

The bill had been open for inspection for a week, but the fact had not been widely advertised and subsequent events showed that the general
ib., Mar. 3, 1797. body of members knew nothing about it until the report of the parliamentary proceedings appeared in the public Press.

The Court after examining it clause by clause gave its approval and a petition signed by eleven of the assistants was presented to Parliament asking leave to bring in the Bill.

Earle was asked to apply to the Duke of Portland to get the King’s consent for the use of the title Royal; the permission was granted at once.

The Bill made rapid progress in the House of Commons; the petition had been presented on February 23rd; by April 6th the Bill had been read for the first and second time and committed;

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the report stage was fixed for April 7th and on April 10th it was passed and sent to the Lords.

On April 25th it was committed by the Lords, and on May 8th Lord Walsingham reported that the Committee approved the Surgeons' Bill with one amendment which "required the College to provide a convenient house or building as near as can be to the place of execution for the dissection of persons executed for murder." The third reading was fixed for May 19th.

On May 12th a petition signed by one hundred and seventy-eight members of the Corporation was presented asking to be heard by themselves or by Counsel against the Bill. On May 19th the Bill was recommitted and leave was granted to the petitioners for and against the Bill to be heard by Counsel by the Committee.

Plumer and Jackson were the Counsel against the Bill, Warren in its favour.

The third reading began on June 19th and was adjourned on several occasions until July 17th.

Lord Thurlow then attacked the Bill in a long and very bitter speech and ended by moving that "it be read a third time this day three months," which motion was carried in the affirmative and the Bill therefore lost.

Thurlow's speech was reprinted in *Lancet*, vol. XI, p. 679. full from the parliamentary reports by the *Lancet* in February, 1827.

He began by protesting that Parliament had been

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taken by surprise ; the Bill had passed the other House and gone through two stages in the Lords before it had attracted attention.

His own knowledge of it was purely accidental and due to a protest by some of the residents in Lincoln's Inn Fields against a house in that district being used for dissection.

He did not agree that the passage through three committees was in favour of the Bill, seeing that its object had not been known to the persons interested in opposing it.

The fact that the opposers of the Bill had been stigmatised in the Committee as Jacobins did not impress him.

He thought that on the whole, aristocracy was a better form of government than democracy or oligarchy, but these so-called Jacobins who came forward to resist the tyranny of the few who wanted to get all the power into their own hands, in his opinion deserved some mercy.

He did not see why people should be called Jacobins who wished merely to protect their property.

He had no personal interest in the success of either party ; he looked at the Bill from the point of view of the public interest, seeing that it was essentially connected with the health and well-being of mankind.

He objected strongly to the Bylaw of the Company which forbade the practice of Pharmacy or Midwifery by any examiner or officer of the Company,

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seeing that in the Bill they asked to be erected into a College of Examiners with the duty of passing or rejecting not only practitioners in Pharmacy for the British Dominions, but all the Surgeons both of the Army and Navy.

He asked whether a Surgeon would be of any use in the Army or Navy if he did not know anything about Pharmacy. The examiners wished to pass judgment upon the knowledge of others in Pharmacy which they had themselves branded as being below the dignity and knowledge of a Surgeon.

The Surgeons professed the healing art, while they rejected the very means whereby health might be restored.

The wealthy might, when indisposed, consult a Physician, Surgeon, and Apothecary, but the middle ranks and the poor could not ensure alleviation of their sufferings if the Surgeons' principles were enforced.

He did not think that there was reasonable justice in the proposal of the Bill to give to a small number of the College the sovereign right of the supervisal, control, regulation and management of all the concerns of the Company and power to alienate its property, funds and cash without any check whatever.

He described as iniquitous, merciless and oppressive the clause in the Bill extending the jurisdiction of the College to a circuit of ten miles from London

AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SURGERY SHOWING INSTRUMENTS OF THE PERIOD

a.	A silver director.	K.	Scraper for trephine hole.
b, i, k, u.	Knives.	L.	Bone raspatory.
c, d, e, f, g.	Needles.	M.	Couching needle.
h.	Fistula scissors.	N.	Eye speculum.
l, m, n.	Trocars and cannulae.	O.	Iridectomy knife.
o, p, q.	Lithotomy staffs.	P, Q.	Drawing of an eye and lachrymal sac.
s, t.	Catheters.	R.	Perforator.
x.	Wire for cleaning catheters.	T, U, V.	Instruments for ligaturing the tonsils.
w, y, z.	Gorgetts for lithotomy.	W.	Silver or lead empyema drainage tube.
A.	Lithotomy forceps.	X.	Tracheotomy tube.
B.	Steel director for lithotomy in women.	Y.	Probe razor for dividing the sternomastoid in wry-neck.
C.	Lithotomy scoop.	Z.	Hare-lip pins.
D.	Perforator for trephine.	1.	Polypus forceps.
E.	Cylindrical trephine saw.	2.	Amputation knife.
F.	Handle of trephine.	3.	Amputation saw.
G.	Key for trephine pin.		
H.	Trephine pin.		
I.	Trephining forceps with elevator on one handle.		

From an engraving published in The Universal Magazine in 1748 in the possession of the Royal College of Surgeons.

From an engraving published in The Universal Magazine in 1781 in the possession of the Royal

I.	Key for trephine pin.	3.	Amputation saw.
H.	Trephine pin.	2.	Amputation knife.
G.	Key for trephine pin.	1.	Polypus forceps.
F.	Handle of trephine.	N.	Hare-lip pins.
E.	Cylindrical trephine saw.		neck.
D.	Perforator for trephine.	Y.	Probe razor for dividing the
C.	Lithotomy scoop.	X.	Tracheotomy tube.
B.	Steel director for lithotomy	W.	Silver or lead empyemas
A.	Lithotomy forceps.		drainage tube.
s, y, w	Gorget for lithotomy.		the tonsils.
x.	Wire for cleansing catheters.	T, U, V.	Instrument for ligaturing
t.	Catheters.	R.	Perforator.
p, o	Lithotomy staffs.		lacrimal sac.
m, l	Trocars and cannulae.	P, Q.	Drawing of an eye and
b.	Fistula scissors.	O.	Iridectomy knife.
c, d, e, f, g.	Needles.	N.	Eye speculum.
p, i, k, n.	Knives.	M.	Conching needle.
s.	A silver director.	L.	Bone raspator.
		K.	Scraper for trephine hole.

THE PERIOD

AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SURGERY SHOWING INSTRUMENTS OF



THE DISSOLUTION OF THE COMPANY

and Westminster, and enacting that "whoever should practise Surgery by word, sign or writing without a diploma of the College should forfeit and pay to the College ten pounds for every month that he or they should so practise."

The words "practise Surgery" were indefinite and likely to lead to litigation. It was not possible to give a clear definition of the word Surgery.

He supposed that practising by word meant by incantation, which seemed to be a strange kind of practice to be alluded to in enlightened times.

The fee proposed for the diploma was much too high and would provide the College with funds far in excess of their requirements.

The Bill suggested that the funds of the Corporation should be vested in a committee of twenty-one persons; he was convinced that the House would never transfer the property of men "without their consent."

Thurlow's attack killed the Bill, but it is uncertain whether it was based on his antipathy to Gunning or, as he maintained, on his desire for the public good. That the terms of the subsequent charter were practically identical with those of the Bill showed that Thurlow's eloquence had not swayed the mind of the Government.

It is noteworthy that throughout the speech mention was not made of the dissolution of the Company by the breach of the Act of 1745.

THE HISTORY OF THE SURGEONS' COMPANY

The Bishop of Bangor, who was in charge of the Bill in the House of Lords, told the Court of the strong opposition that was shown against the conveyance of the bodies of murderers to Lincoln's Inn Fields for dissection and it was at once agreed that a clause should be inserted requiring the College to provide a building near the place of execution.

C.A. Min., Chandler, a member of the Court,
July 6. offered his stable for the purpose.

The loss of the Bill was a serious matter, and Counsel's opinion with regard to the position was sought at once.

In the case submitted to Vicary Gibbs allusion is made to the impossibility of forming a court legally.

“In the discussion of the bill the defect in the government of the Company was disclosed and those members who opposed the bill have availed themselves and mean to avail themselves of every advantage which it can afford them.

“They assert that if the Company be not dissolved the authority of the Court is at an end—that all the transactions subsequent to 19th May, 1796, are illegal and not valid, that all the elections which are made are void, that there is no existing authority in the Company and several members had refused to pay quarterage.”

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE COMPANY

Vicary Gibbs replied that the election of officers in 1796 was bad in law, and that no subsequent elections could be supported ; all those who had been elected could be removed by information in the nature of a *quo warranto*.

**Opinion
dated Sept.
20, 1797.**

If the Company intended to apply again for an Act he thought that it would not be wise to collect quarterage or to fill vacancies.

His advice was followed and, when the full Court met on 5th October, the difficulty was expounded ; a committee was forthwith appointed to consider future procedure.

**C.A. Min.,
Oct. 5, 1797.**

In the meantime the discontented members had not been idle.

A letter just received was read :

“ GENTLEMEN,

The Committee of Surgeons who are appointed by a majority of the members of the Corporation of Surgeons of London to protect their rights, privileges and property are desirous of co-operation with the Court for the purpose of obtaining an Act of Parliament in the next session which shall have for its basis the public good and the honour and respectability individually as well as collectively of the Corporation.

The Committee still feeling the same disposition towards an amicable arrangement as they expressed

THE HISTORY OF THE SURGEONS' COMPANY

in their two letters of 23rd and 30th of May last once more offer to depute a part of their body to meet an equal number of the Court with the view of effecting this adjustment so that a bill may be brought into Parliament by mutual consent.

The Committee request you will direct your answer to their Chairman.

By order of the Committee,

J. SIMPSON, Chairman.

JOHN WALMSLEY,
Secretary.

4th October, 1797."

Consideration of this letter was postponed until the next meeting of the Court on 8th November, and Simpson was informed of this decision.

On 8th November a special Court met and appoint Keate, Blizzard and Cline to meet a deputation of three members of the committee of which Simpson was Chairman.

The delegates were instructed :

- (1) To hear every complaint and proposition which the deputies shall have to make on the part of the members by whom they were appointed.
- (2) That having heard the same they do inform the deputies that their complaints and propositions will be stated to the Court of Assistants.

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE COMPANY

That the Court of Assistants will thereupon determine what steps in their opinion will be proper to be taken for the public utility and permanency of the Corporation and the honour of Surgery and that another meeting of the committee and deputies will be then proposed at which the opinion of the Court of Assistants will be communicated.

The report of the conference of delegates was received and considered at a special Court held on 22nd November.

Keate read the proposals of the members who had opposed the late Bill and they were considered seriatim at the meeting and at the adjourned meeting of 28th November.

1. The converting the Company into a College is approved of.

Decision. Not controversial.

2. The Council shall consist of thirty members of which there shall be a president, four vice-presidents with twenty-five others.

Decision. Rejected.

3. The Council to be divided into three examining committees, one for surgery the second for midwifery and the third to examine the Army and Navy Surgeons in medicine.

Decision. Totally rejected.

THE HISTORY OF THE SURGEONS' COMPANY

4. Two of the five Presidents shall be necessary to make a Court.

Decision. Rejected.

5. All the officers to be elected annually by ballot by the members of the Corporation at large.

Decision. Rejected.

6. Auditors of the accounts to be elected annually, part of them to be members of the Court and other part from among the members of the Company and to make their report annually.

Decision. Approved subject to future regulations.

7. There shall be four quarterly general courts.

Decision. Totally rejected.

8. The jurisdiction of the College shall not be limited, but that all practitioners in Surgery in England and Wales shall be subject to the examinations of the Court of Examiners or deputations from that Court.

Decision. Disapproved.

9. Regulations shall be made respecting lectures in Anatomy and Surgery upon a more extended scale than in the former bill, and that accommodation be provided for private dissection.

Decision. Rejected.

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE COMPANY

10. There shall be no disqualifying Bylaw so far as regards the practice of Midwifery or Pharmacy.

Decision. Totally rejected.

11. That a Library and Museum be formed.

Decision. Approved.

12. The Corporation shall give medals or other rewards for publications.

Decision. Approved subject to future regulations.

13. Surgical transactions to be periodically published.

Decision. Approved subject to future regulations.

14. The estate on the Old Bailey to be repossessed and the house in Lincoln's Inn Fields sold—the loss if any to be sustained by the funds of the Corporation.

Decision. Disapproved because every ground of objection to the house in Lincoln's Inn Fields as a place for the dissection or exposition of the bodies of murderers will be removed.

15. The members who petitioned against the bill offer to contribute towards the expense of supporting the late Mr. Hunter's Museum.

Decision. Considered to be premature.

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Keate, Blizzard and Cline were instructed to prepare a reply to the deputation of members incorporating the decisions which had been reached.

The reply was approved at a special court on 4th December, and ordered to be delivered to the deputies at another conference. Keate, C.A. Min.,
Jan. 4, 1798. Cline and Blizzard reported in January that they had met Simpson, Hurlock and Good and given them the answer, but had not received a reply.

Chandler's offer of his stable as a dissecting-room had not been accepted and now the Court "in order to evince its sincerity to remove all reasonable objections to the present situation in Lincoln's Inn Fields, directed the clerk to look for a temporary dissecting-room or place in or near the Old Bailey until a permanent one near to the place of execution can be established."

The accounts record that in April, 1798, Mr. Walton received £7 7s. for the use of part of his stable yard to expose the body of Maria Theresa Phipoe, and in November Mr. Mayor was paid £6 6s. for the use of his house to expose the body of William Long, the murderer.

Later, a more permanent arrangement was made with a Mr. Place for the use of his warehouse.

While the Court and the members were interchanging opinions the committee was busy with the preparation of a second Bill. Gibbs and Warren

THE DISSOLUTION OF THE COMPANY

had been consulted and had given verbal advice, but thought a written opinion “unnecessary.”

In January, 1798, the committee presented a report recommending that a Bill should be solicited to the following effect :

1. That the name and title of College be substituted for that of Corporation.
2. That one instead of two Governors, with ten of the assistants be competent to hold a court and should all three Governors be either dead or rendered incapable of acting that the senior member present may have authority to convene and hold a court in order to fill up those vacancies for the remainder of the year.

In case all the governors be absent at the time appointed for holding a court that the senior member present may have power to adjourn such meeting to a future and early period.

3. That the College be enabled to hold freehold property to the amount of £500 per annum.
4. That a course of chirurgical lectures, to be given annually by a member of the College appointed by the Court of Assistants, may be established.
5. That a place for the dissection of bodies of criminals may be fixed upon as near as possible to the place of execution.
6. That in all other respects the Company may remain as it stood under the Act of 18, Geo. II.

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After consideration the Court approved the report, but recommended the addition of another clause :

“ That no person in England or Wales who is not a member of the College shall be capable of maintaining an action in any court of law for the recovery of any debt fee or reward on account of attendance, advice or operation as a practitioner in surgery, but that nothing in such clause shall extend to any practitioner who shall be settled at the time of passing such act nor to affect any person who shall before the passing of such act have practised surgery under the authority of two Acts of Parliament made in the 3rd and 24th years of the reign of his present Majesty, to enable officers, marines or soldiers who had been in the land or sea service to exercise trades or under the authority of either of them.”

At the end of January it was reported that a Bill had been drafted on these lines, and had been submitted to Mr. Dorrington, the clerk in Parliament, who had made some alterations in it and also in the petition for leave to bring it in.

Thereupon it was proposed and agreed that a meeting of the members of the Company should be convened to appoint a committee of
C.A. Min.,
Jan. 29, 1798. nine members to meet an equal number of the Court of Assistants to discuss the framing of the Bill.

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A week later the minute recording this resolution was not confirmed, and was consequently rescinded, the following note being made :

ib., Feb. 5,
1798.

“The reason for rescinding the resolution is that it appeared to the Court from mature consideration that a general meeting would cause confusion among the members without producing any good effect to the Corporation or the public.”

The Court at length had begun to realise that the members had the power to prevent the Bill from passing unless their wishes were granted.

It seems possible that Vicary Gibbs and Warren had suggested a means of escape for the Court, but did not wish to commit themselves in writing, seeing that a member of the Court, whose name is not recorded, now suggested that a charter from the Crown would be preferable to a Bill in Parliament.

ib., Feb. 5,
1798.

A prerogative charter cannot override an Act of Parliament, and consequently a charter could not be sought if the Act of 1745 was still operative, but Vicary Gibbs had given his opinion that the Company was dissolved.

There was no obstacle, therefore, likely to prevent the granting of a charter.

The next step was to take the combined opinion of Edward Law, Vicary Gibbs and Charles Warren

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with regard to what might happen if a charter was obtained.

This opinion held that it would be open to members of the Company to refuse incorporation by the Charter, that any lands held by donation from individuals would revert to the donor or his heirs on the dissolution of the Company, that lands acquired by purchase or by donation if the donor or his heirs could not be found, would rest in the King by way of escheat and that personal property would also pass to the King.

**Opinion
dated Feb. 15,
1798.**

If the charter were so framed as to include only those persons accepting it, the refusal of any number of members to join the new incorporation would not affect the right of the Crown to grant the property.

Finally :

“ the adverse members of the old corporation when a new charter is obtained upon the proposed plan, can neither maintain an action nor file a bill of Chancery with any effect against the members of the Court for having sold the Hall or purchased the house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, seeing that as individuals they will have no interest in the subject and as members of the new corporation, if they become so, they will have no ground of complaint which may not be obviated by the terms of the new charter.”

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The Surgeons must have been very confident with regard to their influence with the Crown ; the petition for the charter was drafted and read on 22nd February and formally approved on 28th February. It was ordered to be open for perusal and signature by members from 3rd March to 9th March, and was then presented.

CHAPTER XIV

Pamphleteers and the Surgeons' Bill

IT IS CURIOUS THAT THE BILL HAD PROGRESSED SO far through Parliament before it excited any comment or opposition.

The first meeting of protest was held at the "Crown and Anchor" in the Strand on 8th May, the day on which the Bill was reported in the Lords, and the third reading was fixed for 19th May.

On 12th May the petition to the Lords was presented and then bore one hundred and seventy-eight signatures.

The first pamphlet which appeared dealing with the subject was written by Thomas Chevalier and was in defence of the Bill; he presented a copy to the Court on 28th November, 1797, and received their thanks.

The language is temperate and provides a good deal of information elucidating that which is given in the Company's records.

He knew of the failure to form a Court in 1796 and of the consequent illegality of the procedure, and said that this together with other circumstances, such as the need to be able to hold property of a

PAMPHLETEERS AND THE SURGEONS' BILL

yearly value greater than £200, made a new Act desirable.

The old hall was in a ruinous state and seeing that the lease had only fifty-five years to run the expense of repair was not justifiable.

The Surgeons of Edinburgh and Dublin were incorporated as Royal Colleges, a title more suitable for a scientific body without any commercial interests than that of Company or Corporation.

The London Surgeons were an older body and had done more for the public than those of Edinburgh or Dublin.

Thus far Chevalier was on fairly safe ground, but he found it more difficult to defend the desire of the Court to extend their jurisdiction to a circuit of ten miles round London with coercive power to restrain unlicensed practice by a penalty of £10 per month.

It was not quite fair to assert that the Surgeons examined the Navy and Army candidates without any reward, or to state that provision had been made for gratuitous lectures on practical Surgery without adding that none had been given.

The chief interest in Chevalier's pamphlet is in the historical summary of the evolution of the Corporation of Surgeons.

Another pamphlet, issued in 1797, was entitled "A dressing for Lord Thurlow," and though anonymous was attributed by John Ring to John

THE HISTORY OF THE SURGEONS' COMPANY

Birch, a Surgeon to St. Thomas' Hospital and a recently elected member of the Court of Assistants.

There is very little information to be gathered from the pamphlet. It consists chiefly of scurrilous abuse.

He maintained that mates for the Naval Medical Service were not supplied from the hospitals of Great Britain or from apprentices of respectable Surgeons, but from discarded apprentices from Apothecaries' shops, mostly from the North, or from Scotch graduates that never saw a dissection or even handled a knife.

Their only education consisted in walking a hospital for three months.

Birch had been an Army Surgeon and did not comment on that service.

"An address to members of the Corporation of Surgeons" was issued anonymously, but apparently with official sanction, in 1798. The dissolution of the Company owing to the impossibility of forming a Court is given as the reason for seeking the Bill; in spite of the breach of the statute the Government had not taken action but continued to send for examination candidates for the Army and Navy.

"A second Address" in reply was issued by John Mason Good in April, 1798.

Good pointed out that though the Act of 1745 gave the Court general superintendence, it did not invest them with the property of the Company.

PAMPHLETEERS AND THE SURGEONS' BILL

The Hall, he said, had been bought by money raised from a voluntary quarterage agreed to at a general meeting ; it had been sold without leave of a general meeting for considerably less than its value.

Half the funded property of the Company had been sold in a similar unconstitutional manner and a new building bought with the proceeds.

Good claimed that “ in London and the suburbs, nearly eight hundred men practised midwifery who had never undergone and can never undergo any kind of examination as to their abilities for such practice.”

He maintained that all Surgeons in the Army and Navy ought to have a knowledge of Pharmacy, and that an examination in that subject was as necessary as one in abstract Surgery.

Neither the College of Physicians nor the Society of Apothecaries had anything to do with Surgeons of the Navy or Army.

He held strongly therefore that the Company should not have any disqualifying Bylaw as regards the practice of Midwifery and Pharmacy.

Hearing that recently the Court had abandoned the plan of seeking an Act of Parliament and intended to petition for a charter, he asked why the members had not been informed of the reasons and why a general meeting had not been summoned.

THE HISTORY OF THE SURGEONS' COMPANY

John Ring's "Reflections on the Surgeons' Bill," published in 1798, is the longest and most informative of the pamphlets published on behalf of the petitioners against the Bill.

With regard to the secrecy of the promotion, he wrote :

"By great names the minds of the Legislature and of the public are lulled into security of which the present bill which passed through five stages out of six unopposed and unsuspected, affords a lamentable proof."

He protested against the Bylaw excluding from the Council those who practised Pharmacy or Midwifery, while in the amended Bill Mr. Dundas was advanced to the rank of examiner.

"If the practice of pharmacy could disgrace an ordinary surgeon it would disgrace a serjeant surgeon much more. If a serjeant surgeon has occasion to practise the mixed branches an ordinary surgeon has much greater occasion."

Later, in attacking "pure" Surgeons, he wrote :

"In regard to pharmacy they ought to study it more or practise it less ; in regard to physic they should give some proof of their understanding it or not practise it at all."

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He records that Gunning's Phillipic was read to the Committee of the House of Lords and quoted ; quoting from it, he states that none of the abuses mentioned by Gunning had been redressed though nearly seven years had elapsed.

Ring states that Chevalier, who wrote in defence of the Bill, had attended the meeting of protest at the " Crown and Anchor," had spoken against the Bill, subscribed to the opposition fund, helped to draw up the petition and signed it and then turned round and signed the counter declaration.

In these democratic days it is not easy to apportion praise or blame justly between the disputants in this controversy.

It is clear that the members of the Court of Assistants had not only broken their own Bylaws on several occasions, but also had broken the law of the land and had incurred heavy penalties under the Statute of mortmain.

On the other hand they performed a service to the State and their illegal actions had not caused any public harm. It appeared to be justifiable to seek an act of indemnity.

The general body of members were legally the proprietors of the Company, though they were debarred by the exclusive Bylaw from having any share in its management.

To those who were well educated like Mason Good, Ring, Champney and many others, this

THE HISTORY OF THE SURGEONS' COMPANY

seemed to be a grave injustice, yet the majority of the members were ill educated, kept open shops and belonged to the social class of small tradesmen ; it might well have been calamitous to the progress of Surgery had the election of the governing body been left to such a constituency.

The right to transfer the property of the Company to the College without sanction of a general meeting raised a legal problem for which a solution in the Courts were sought in 1892.

In February, 1889, the Association of members of the Royal College of Surgeons convened a meeting of members at the College without the permission of the Council. The meeting was prohibited.

The Association decided upon a test case.

Four members, Messrs. Steele, Ellis, Hogg and Dickinson, brought an action against the President (Sir William Savory), the Vice-Presidents and Council of the College, claiming the privilege of meeting at the College in spite of the prohibition of the Council.

They maintained that a Charter could not override a Statute and the Statute 22, Geo. II constituting the old Company of Surgeons had not been repealed ; therefore they said they had had the right to meet at the College as a privilege derived from the old Company.

The case was argued before Mr. Justice Romer. Fletcher Moulton, Costelloe and Barnard Laily

PAMPHLETEERS AND THE SURGEONS' BILL

appeared for the plaintiffs. Sir Richard Webster, Haldane and Paget for the College.

Lancet,
Jan. 30, 1892,
p. 285.
B.M.S.
Jan. 30, 1892,
pp. 253 & 468.

Moulton argued that the old Company had not been dissolved in 1800 and that the Royal College was one body continuous with it.

Romer dismissed the application on the ground that the Charter of 1800 created a new Corporation, and that the only rights the members could claim were under that Charter which said that the new Company was to consist of such members of the old Company as chose to join.

He accepted as a fact that the Company had been dissolved in 1796 and that its property had reverted to the Crown and had been granted to the new College.

The wording of the Charter is curiously cautious :

“Whereas we are informed that the said Corporation of Master, Governors and Commonalty of the Art and Science of Surgeons of London hath become and now is dissolved.”

The dissolution was an accepted fact, but had not been proved in any court of law.

CHAPTER XV

The Charter of the Royal College of Surgeons

THE PETITION FOR THE CHARTER WAS PRESENTED at the Duke of Portland's office in March, 1798, and was at once referred to the Attorney and Solicitor-General.

A caveat against the Charter was lodged in the office of the Attorney-General by the Committee of members who opposed the late Bill.

It was intended to support the caveat by Counsel, but the Attorney and Solicitor-General had not made an appointment for taking the matter into consideration. Evidently they did not intend to hurry.

In July, 1799, the Court decided to approach the Attorney-General with a request to accelerate the business.

In October a special court was called in the hope of expediting matters ; briefs for counsel were ordered to be prepared.

In December the law officers announced that at last they were ready to consider the application for the Charter, and shortly afterwards, **C.A. Min., Jan. 2, 1800.** 17th January, 1800, was fixed for the hearing.

Plumer, Garrow and Jackson were the opposing

CHARTER OF ROYAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS

Counsel. The hearing was adjourned until 30th January.

On 25th February, the Court was informed that the petition for the Charter had been successful.

There had been some slight modifications.

The licence in mortmain was to be extended to £1000 per annum.

Charles Hawkins was to be the first Master, William Long and George Chandler the first Wardens. The names of the ten members of the first Court of Examiners were included, and those of eighteen members of the Court of Assistants with instructions that three more were to be elected.

The place for the reception of the bodies of murderers was to be within 400 yards of the place of execution.

Seven days' notice was to be given of Courts for any election of officers.

The Charter passed the Great Seal on 22nd March, 1800, just two years after the petition had been lodged.

The first meeting of the Royal College of Surgeons in London was convened by notice in the *London Gazette* on 25th March, and by summons to members of the Court of Assistants, and was held on 10th April.

APPENDICES

1. Court of Assistants, 1745-1800
2. Court of Examiners, 1745-1800
3. Governors, 1745-1800
4. Anatomical Officers, 1745-1800
5. Disfranchisements, 1745-1800
6. Surgeon-Apothecaries, 1781-1796
7. Annual Audits, 1746-1799

APPENDIX I

COURT OF ASSISTANTS, 1745-1800

			Master
John Ranby, S.S. ¹	1745-1773	by Act	1745, 51, 52
Joseph Sandford	1745-1748	„	
William Cheselden	1745-1752	„	1746
Ambrose Dickins, S.S.	1745-1747	„	
William Petty	1745-1753	„	
John Shipton	1745-1746	„	
John Hayward	1745-1763	„	
John Freke	1745-1756	„	1747
William Pyle	1745-1748	„	
Legard Sparham	1745-1756	„	1753
James Hickes	1745-1758	„	1754
Peter Sainthill	1745-1773 ²	„	1749-50
Noah Roul	1745-1760	„	1755
John Westbrook	1745-1758	„	1756
William Singleton	1745-1761	„	1757
James Phillips	1745-1751	„	
Harry Holdip	1745-1747	elected	
Thomas Bigg	1745-1747	„	
Joseph Webb	1745-1757 ²	„	
Mark Hawkins	1745-1760	„	1760
Christopher Fullager	1745-1771 ²	„	1759
Edward Nourse	1746-1761	vice Shipton	1760
John Girle	1747-1751 ²	vice Holdip	
John Townsend	1747-1766 ²	vice Bigg	1762
Cæsar Hawkins, S.S.	1747-1778 ¹	vice Dickins	1748

¹ S.S. Serjeant-Surgeon.

² Resigned.

THE COURT OF ASSISTANTS

			Master
Walter Jones	1748-1768 ¹	vice Pyle	
John Blagden	1748-1768	vice Sandford	1763
John Belchier	1751-1785	vice Phillips	
David Middleton, S.S.	1751-1778	vice Girle	1761
Samuel Sharpe	1752-1765 ¹	vice Cheselden	
Robert Young	1753-1783	vice Petty	1764, 76, 77
John Girle	1756-1761 ²	vice Freke	1758
Percival Pott	1756-1788	vice Sparham	1765
Stafford Crane	1757-1784 ¹	vice Webb	1766
Benjamin Cowell	1758-1771 ¹	vice Hickes	1768
Edmund Sanxay	1758-1762	vice Westbrook	
Robert Adair	1760-1789 ¹	vice Roul	1767
William Bromfield	1760-1780 ¹	vice M. Hawkins	1769
Henry Grundy	1761-1767	vice Singleton	
Wentworth Gregory	1761-1772 ¹	vice Nourse	1770, 71
John Pyle	1761-1793	vice Girle	1772
John Torr	1762-1765	vice Sanxay	
Mileson Hingeston	1763-1764	vice Hayward	
Joseph Warner	1764-1800	vice Hingeston	1773, 80, 84
Thomas Gataker	1765-1768	vice Sharp	
Matthew Spray	1765-1787	vice Torr	1774
Richard Grindall	1766-1797	vice Townsend	1775, 82, 83
Thomas Tomkyns	1767-1776 ¹	vice Grundy	
Fleming Pinkstan	1768-1792	vice Jones	1779
James Burnett	1768-1776	vice Blagden	
Peter Triquet	1769-1788	vice Gataker	1781
Henry Watson	1771-1793	vice Fullager	1785, 88
Thomas Smith	1771-1784	vice Cowell	
Archdall Harris	1772-1791	vice Gregory	
William Sharpe	1773-1784	vice Ranby	
Isaac Minors	1773-1797	vice Sainthill	1786, 96
Pennell Hawkins	1776-1792	vice Tomkyns	1778
Joseph Else	1776-1780	vice Burnett	

¹ Resigned.

² Re-elected.

THE COURT OF ASSISTANTS

			Master
Edmund Pitts	1778-1791	vice C. Hawkins	1787
Jonathan Wathen	1778-1800	vice Middleton	
William Graves	1780-1796	vice Bromfield	
James Frank	1780-1782	vice Else	
Richard Crowther	1783-1789	vice Frank	
John Gunning	1784-1798	vice Young	1789, 97
William Lucas	1784-1800	vice Crane	1791
Samuel Howard	1784-1800	vice Smith	1792
John Wyatt	1784-1797 ¹	vice W. Sharp	1793
James Patch	1785-1792	vice P. Hawkins	
William Walker	1785-1796	vice Belchier	1794
Charles Hawkins, S.S.	1787-1800	vice Spray	1790, 99
William Cooper	1788-1800	vice Triquet	1795
John Hunter	1789-1793	vice Crowther	
James Earle	1789-1800	vice Pott	1798
William Long	1789-1800	vice Adair	
George Chandler	1791-1800	vice Pitts	
Charles Blicke	1791-1800	vice Harris	
Thompson Forster	1792-1800	vice Patch	
John Birch	1792-1800	vice Pinkstan	
Thomas Keate	1793-1800	vice Pyle	
John Heaviside	1793-1800	vice Hunter	
John Howard	1793-1800	vice Watson	
William Blizzard	1796-1800	vice Graves	
Henry Cline	1796-1800 ²	vice Walker	

When the Charter was granted in 1800 there were three vacancies in the Court of Assistants.

¹ Resigned.

² Elected at the irregular Court on July 2nd.

APPENDIX II

COURT OF EXAMINERS, 1745-1800

John Ranby	1745-1773	
William Cheselden	1745-1752	
Ambrose Dickins	1745-1747	
William Petty	1745-1753	
John Shipton	1745-1746	
John Freke	1745-1756	
William Pyle	1745-1748	
Legard Sparham	1745-1756	
James Hickes	1745-1758	
Peter Sainthill	1745-1764 ¹	
Noah Roul	1746-1760	vice Shipton
Cæsar Hawkins	1747-1778 ¹	vice Dickins
John Westbrook	1748-1758	vice Pyle
William Singleton	1752-1761	vice Cheselden
Joseph Webb	1753-1757	vice Petty
Mark Hawkins	1756-1760	vice Freke
Christopher Fullager	1756-1771 ¹	vice Sparham
Edward Nourse	1757-1761	vice Webb
John Girle	1758-1761	vice Westbrook
John Townsend	1758-1766 ¹	vice Hickes
John Blagden	1760-1768	vice M. Hawkins
David Middleton	1760-1778	vice Roul
Robert Adair	1761-1768	vice Nourse
Robert Young	1761-1784	vice Girle
Percival Pott	1761-1788	vice Singleton
Stafford Crane	1764-1784 ¹	vice Sainthill

¹ Resigned.

COURT OF EXAMINERS

Benjamin Cowell	1766-1771 ¹	vice Townsend
William Bromfield	1768-1780 ¹	vice Blagden
Wentworth Gregory	1768-1772 ¹	vice Adair
John Pyle	1771-1793	vice Cowell
Joseph Warner	1771-1800	vice Fullager
Matthew Spray	1772-1787	vice Gregory
Richard Grindall	1773-1797	vice Ranby
Pennell Hawkins	1778-1784	vice Cæsar Hawkins
Fleming Pinkstan	1778-1792	vice Middleton
Peter Triquet	1780-1788	vice Bromfield
Henry Watson	1784-1793	vice Pennell Hawkins
Isaac Minors	1784-1797	vice Young
Edmund Pitts	1784-1791	vice Crane
Charles Hawkins	1787-1800	vice Spray
Richard Crowther	1788-1789	vice Triquet
John Gunning	1789-1798	vice Pott
William Lucas	1789-1800	vice Crowther
Samuel Howard	1791-1800	vice Pitts
John Wyatt	1792-1797 ¹	vice Pinkstan
William Walker	1793-1796	vice Pyle
William Cooper	1793-1800	vice Watson
James Earle	1796-1800	vice Walker
William Long	1797-1800	vice Grindall
George Chandler	1797-1800	vice Wyatt
Thomas Keate	1799-1800	vice Minors
Charles Blicke	1799-1800	vice Gunning

¹ Resigned.

APPENDIX III

GOVERNORS FROM 1745-1800

	<i>Master</i>	<i>Upper Warden</i>	<i>Under Warden</i>
1745-6	John Ranby	Joseph Sandford	William Cheselden
1746-7	William Cheselden	John Freke	William Pyle
1747-8	John Freke	William Pyle	Legard Sparham
1748-9	Cæsar Hawkins	Peter Sainthill	James Hicke
1749-50	Peter Sainthill	Legard Sparham	James Hicke
1750-1	Peter Sainthill	Legard Sparham	James Hicke
1751-2	John Ranby	Legard Sparham	James Hicke
1752-3	John Ranby	Legard Sparham	James Hicke
1753-4	Legard Sparham	James Hicke	Noah Roul
1754-5	James Hicke	Noah Roul	John Westbrook
1755-6	Noah Roul	John Westbrook	William Singleton
1756-7	John Westbrook	William Singleton	Joseph Webb
1757-8	William Singleton	Mark Hawkins	Christopher Fullager

GOVERNORS

	<i>Master</i>	<i>Upper Warden</i>	<i>Under Warden</i>
1758-9	Mark Hawkins	Christopher Fullager	Edward Nourse
1759-60	Christopher Fullager	Edward Nourse	John Townsend
1760-1	Edward Nourse	John Girle	John Townsend
1761-2	David Middleton ¹	John Townsend	John Blagden
1762-3	John Townsend	John Blagden	Robert Young
1763-4	John Blagden	Robert Young	Percivall Pott
1764-5	Robert Young	Percivall Pott	Stafford Crane
1765-6	Percivall Pott	Stafford Crane	Robert Adair
1766-7	Stafford Crane	Robert Adair	Robert Young
1767-8	Robert Adair	Benjamin Cowell	Percivall Pott
1768-9	Benjamin Cowell	William Bromfield	Stafford Crane
1769-70	William Bromfield	Wentworth Gregory	Percivall Pott
1770-1	Wentworth Gregory	Benjamin Cowell	William Bromfield
1771-2	Wentworth Gregory	John Pyle	Christopher Fullager
1772-3	John Pyle	Joseph Warner	Robert Young
1773-4	Joseph Warner	Matthew Spray	John Pyle
1774-5	Matthew Spray	Richard Grindall	Joseph Warner
1775-6	Richard Grindall	Joseph Warner	Matthew Spray

¹ Elected at the irregular Court on July 2nd.

GOVERNORS

	<i>Master</i>	<i>Upper Warden</i>	<i>Under Warden</i>
1776-7	Robert Young	Joseph Warner	Richard Grindall
1777-8	Robert Young	Joseph Warner	Richard Grindall
1778-9	Pennell Hawkins	Richard Grindall	Fleming Pinkstan
1779-80	Fleming Pinkstan	Pennell Hawkins	Joseph Warner
1780-1	Joseph Warner	Richard Grindall	Peter Triquet
1781-2	Peter Triquet	Robert Young	Richard Grindall
1782-3	Richard Grindall	Fleming Pinkstan	Peter Triquet
1783-4	Richard Grindall	Peter Triquet	Fleming Pinkstan
1784-5	Joseph Warner	Henry Watson	Isaac Minors
1785-6	Henry Watson	Isaac Minors	Edmund Pitts
1786-7	Isaac Minors	Edmund Pitts	Henry Watson
1787-8	Edmund Pitts	Henry Watson	Isaac Minors
1788-9	Henry Watson	Isaac Minors	<div> <div>Richard Crowther</div> <div>John Gunning</div> </div>
1789-90	John Gunning	Richard Grindall	
1790-1	Charles Hawkins	William Lucas	<div> <div>Edmund Pitts</div> <div>Samuel Howard</div> </div>
1791-2	William Lucas	Samuel Howard	John Gunning

GOVERNORS

	<i>Master</i>	<i>Upper Warden</i>	<i>Under Warden</i>
1792-3	Samuel Howard	John Wyatt	Isaac Minors
1793-4	John Wyatt	William Walker	Samuel Howard
1794-5	William Walker	William Cooper	John Wyatt
1795-6	William Cooper	John Wyatt	William Walker
1796-7	Isaac Minors	John Gunning	James Earle
1797-8	John Gunning	James Earle	Charles Hawkins
1798-9	James Earle	Charles Hawkins	William Long
1799- 1800	Charles Hawkins	William Long	George Chand- ler

Note :

Legard Sparham was Governor in 1747, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53.

James Hickes was Governor in 1748, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54.

Robert Young was Governor in 1762, 63, 64, 66, 72, 76, 77.

Percivall Pott was Governor in 1763, 64, 65, 67, 69.

Joseph Warner was Governor in 1772, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 79, 80, 84.

Richard Grindall was Governor in 1774, 75, 76, 77, 78, 80, 81, 82, 83, 89.

APPENDIX IV

ANATOMICAL OFFICERS

	<i>Masters</i>	<i>Wardens</i>	<i>Stewards</i>
1753-4	Percivall Pott William Hunter <i>Fined</i> : Joseph Paul.	Stafford Crane Thomas Griffith	Isaac Minors William Hewitt
1754-5	Thomas Griffith William Hewitt <i>Fined</i> : Henry Henry Grundy.	Isaac Minors George West Wentworth,	Joseph Warner Matthew Spray Benjamin Cowell,
1755-6	Isaac Minors Joseph Warner <i>Fined</i> : Wentworth Gregory.	Matthew Spray Richard Grindall	Richard Guy James Sherwood
1756-7	Matthew Spray Richard Grindall	Richard Guy James Sherwood	John Pyle Thomas Tomkyns <i>Fined</i> : John Westbrooke, Stephen Galhie, George Bell. <i>Excused</i> : John Thomas.
1757-8	Richard Guy John Pyle	Thomas Tomkyns James Wallace	John Taitt Henry Mason
1758-9	Thomas Tomkyns James Wallace	John Taitt Henry Mason	James Woolsey William Chapman <i>Fined</i> : Edward Lee, William Cupps, John Torr.

ANATOMICAL OFFICERS

	<i>Masters</i>	<i>Wardens</i>	<i>Stewards</i>
1759-60	John Taitt	James Woolsey	Stephen Lowdell
	Henry Mason	Benson Beck	William Connop
	<i>Fined</i> : Robert Pell, James Atkinson, Thomas Heacock, James Spagg.		
1760-1	James Woolsey	Stephen Lowdell	Samuel Chapman
	Benson Beck	William Connop	Fleming Pinkstan
	<i>Fined</i> : James Bullcock, John Harris.		
1761-2	Stephen Lowdell	Samuel Chapman	Howell Lewis
	William Connop	Fleming Pinkstan	George Browne
	<i>Fined</i> : William Atkinson, George Langdale, Robert Bromfield, James Barnett.		
	<i>Excused</i> : John Andrews.		
1762-3	Samuel Chapman	George Browne	Richard Davis
	Fleming Pinkstan	Peter Triquet	John Eade
	<i>Fined</i> : Lewis Davis, John Rose, Richard Astley, Richard Gervase Williams, George Vaux, Christopher Rawlinson, Austin Mills, Richard Webb, Henry Dowdall, Charles Boone.		
1763-4	George Browne	Richard Davis	John Ruding
	Peter Triquet	William Breach	Robert Carson
	<i>Fined</i> : Richard Rayley, Samuel Gilham.		
1764-5	Richard Davis	John Ruding	George Arnaud
	William Breach	Robert Carson	Montague Booth
1765-6	John Ruding	George Arnaud	Henry Watson
	Robert Carson	Montague Booth	John Farmer

ANATOMICAL OFFICERS

	<i>Masters</i>	<i>Wardens</i>	<i>Stewards</i>
1766-7	George Arnaud Henry Watson	John Farmer —— Chapman	Thomas Clayton John Riddell
	<i>Fined</i> : William Pemble, Husband Messiter, David Irish, Thomas Smith, Archdall Harris, William Martyn, Henry Dickenson, George Neale, Isaac Stapleton.		

	<i>Professors</i>	<i>Wardens</i>	<i>Stewards</i>
1767-8	Joseph Else	Richard Capell Thomas Clark	William Lardner Thomas Goodman

Fined : John How, William Sharp.

1768-9	Joseph Else	—— Moffatt Francis Tomkyns	Thomas Cooper Edmund Pitts
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Fined : Joseph Webb, Alexander Reid, Charles Spear, Charles Hales, Charles Broughton, Henry Thomson, John Allen, William Williams, Lewis Way.

1769-70	David Bayford	John Horsford Jonathan Wathen	William Graves Philip Barling
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Fined : John Isles, Philip Hurlock.

1770-1	David Bayford	William Graves Henry Saffory	—— Roberts George Martin
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1771-2	David Bayford	Thomas Durant Thorold Lowdell	James Frank Nicholas Mail-lard
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Fined : John Hewitt, Hamilton Green.

ANATOMICAL OFFICERS

	<i>Professors</i>	<i>Wardens</i>	<i>Stewards</i>
1772-3	David Bayford	Theodore Horsley Felix McDonogh	Thomas Burosse William Coote
	<i>Fined</i> : Wentworth Ogle, Arnold Langley, Robert Galhie, Francis l'Oney, Richard Davenport, William Brown, Richard Crowther.		
1773-4	David Bayford	William Coote ?	Francis Brown ?
	<i>Fined</i> : John Marissall, Minson Hale, John Gunning, William Lucas, James Devalle.		
1774-5	Henry Watson	John Wyatt George Collins	Francis Cumber- lege John Hole
	<i>Fined</i> : Henry Jarvis, Charles Barton, — Burt.		
1775-6	Henry Watson	Thomas Budmore John Parkinson	Richard Olney Thomas Whin- cup
	<i>Fined</i> : John Waring, Samuel Ford, William Toulmin, James Chafy.		
1776-7	Henry Watson	Sampson Carver Bartholomew Abell	Samuel Gillam Miles William Massie
	<i>Fined</i> : Lucas Everard Greenhead, William Garratt, William Cooper, Thomas Shirley, William Curtis, Richard Rook, John Church, Robert Wigram, Robert Benson, John Hunter, Robert Kent, Thomas Payne, John Crosier, James Earle.		

ANATOMICAL OFFICERS

	<i>Professor</i>	<i>Wardens</i>	<i>Stewards</i>
1777-8	Magnus Falconar	George Vaux, junr. Alexander Maxwell	William Long George Chandler
	<i>Fined</i> : John Birch.		
1778-9	Isaac Minors	George Chandler Thomas Payne	Thomas Keate John Harvey Pierce
1779-80	Isaac Minors	John Gibson Thomas Huet	George Lowdell Thomas Talbot Gorsuch
1780-1	Isaac Minors	George Lowdell Thomas Talbot Gorsuch	John Wyatt John Sheldon
	<i>Fined</i> : Sanderson, Grey.		
1781-2	Henry Cline	John Wyatt John Sheldon	Humphry Harrington John Holt
	<i>Fined</i> : John Ainslie, William Warner,——Complin, —— Crowther, —— Swift, Headington, Wilkinson, Briscoe, Nesbitt, Evans, Poignand.		
1782-3	Henry Cline	Humphry Harrington John Holt	John Jackson John Hodges
	<i>Fined</i> : Richard Thompson, Bartholomew Bonigue.		
1783-4	Henry Cline	John Jackson John Hodges	John Andrée Charles Hawkins
	<i>Fined</i> : John Heaviside, John Howard, Richard Lee, William Blizzard, William White-		

ANATOMICAL OFFICERS

Professors

Wardens

Stewards

head, Edward Yale, William Borrell,
William Cribb.

Note : John Hodges, Steward in 1782 and Warden 1783, had not attended any lectures or performed his other duties and was fined in 1784.

1784-5	William Cooper	John Andrée Thomas Welsh- man	James Douglas John White
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Fined : John Walford, William Talbut, Charles Hawkins.

1785-6	William Cooper	George Chap- man John White	Jeremiah Laundy Thomas Young
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1786-7	William Cooper	Thomas Young John Dale	James Bureau John Ring
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Fined : Richard Chambers, Jesse Foot.

1787-8	William Blizzard	James Bureau John Ring	William Potter Edward Ford
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Fined : John Dymond.

1788-9	William Blizzard	William Potter Joseph Coventry Lowdell	William French William Mid- ford
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1789- 90	William Blizzard	William French William Midford	—— Wetherall —— Eden
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Fined : —— Hogben.

1790-1	John Abernethy	—— Wetherall —— Eden	Rice Beynon Robert Porter
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Fined : Thomas White, William Norris, Henry Fearon, William Breach, James Ware.

ANATOMICAL OFFICERS

	<i>Professors</i>	<i>Wardens</i>	<i>Stewards</i>
1791-2	John Abernethy	Robert Porter	Thomas Carnarvon Charles Oldroyd Nicholas Patrick
	<i>Fined</i> : Solomon Ward, Charles Powis, William Morris, George Smith Coxhead, William Babbington, Everard Home, Robert Rowley, Adair Hawkins, William North, Andrew Cairncross, George Goodwin.		
1792-3	John Abernethy	Thomas Carnarvon Nicholas Patrick	William Hawes Christopher Leadam
1793-4	Samuel Orange alias Jackson Astley Paston Cooper <i>Fined</i> : Nicholas Birch.	William Buckland	Thomas Ryder John Williams Powney
1794-5	Astley Paston Cooper	John Williams Powney Stephen Smith Ward <i>Fined</i> : Thomas Horridge, Samuel Ramsden.	Richard Simmonds Charles Smith
1795-6	Astley Paston Cooper	Richard Simmonds Charles Smith	Joseph Hurlock Ambrose Lyon Poynter <i>Fined</i> : John Shuter, Julian Mariner.
1796-7	Thomas Blizzard	Joseph Hurlock Ambrose Lyon Poynter <i>Fined</i> : William Bidlake, William Cruickshank, Thomas Smith.	Richard Loveday Charles Armstrong

ANATOMICAL OFFICERS

	<i>Professors</i>	<i>Wardens</i>	<i>Stewards</i>
1797-8	Thomas Blizard	John Hale James Simpson	Thomas Webb Thomas Spence
	<i>Fined</i> : Henry Gore Clough, Thomas Whateley.		Francis Knight,
1798-9	Thomas Blizard	Thomas Webb William Spence	Ludford Harvey John Philips
1799	James Wilson	Ludford Harvey John Philips	Thomas James Cotton Edward Browne

APPENDIX V

DISFRANCHISEMENTS

1751	Daniel Peter Layard
1751	Thomas Jones
1752	James Dargent
1753	Samuel Wathen
1756	William Hunter
1758	Stephen Simpson
1758	Christopher Kelly
1760	John Harris
1763	James Ford
1765	Samuel Chapman
1765	Richard Huck (later Richard Huck Saunders)
1766	Robert Bromfield
1766	—— Leach
1778	Samuel Foart Simmonds
1779	—— Coltman
1784	William Osborne
1784	Michael Underwood
1786	Nicholas Maillaird
1787	David Bayford
1787	Benjamin Moseley
1788	Joseph Shaw
1791	Alexander Crichton
1795	William Babington

APPENDIX VI

SURGEON-APOTHECARIES

Surgeons given leave to take up the freedom of the Society of Apothecaries without disfranchisement from the Company and without payment of any fine except a guinea to the poor box.

1781	David Nisbett
1784	Joseph Hurlock Stephen Smith Ward
1785	Wilmot Wollen
1786	Joseph Hopkins
1787	John Hillyard William Barton
1788	George Winter
1793	P. Williams, Junr., of Rugby
1796	James Moss

APPENDIX VII

ANNUAL AUDITS

	<i>Cash in hand</i>			<i>Investments</i>	<i>Liability</i>
	£	s.	d.		
1746	155	9	10	7 India Bonds	
1747	138	13	11	6 India Bonds	
1748	66	0	11	nil	
1749	303	11	10	nil	
1750	250	14	11	nil	£4000 bonds
1751	20	7	3	nil	„
1752	80	6	5	nil	„
1753	20	18	9	nil	„
1754	18	3	11	nil	„
1755	5	5	8	nil	„
1756	68	5	10	nil	„
1757	102	19	8	nil	„
1758	228	14	11	nil	„
1759	255	16	2	nil	„
1760	213	17	10	nil	„
1761	287	5	11	1 India Bond	„
1762	322	5	7	1 „ „	„
1763	134	2	6	3 „ „	„
1764	72	17	7	3 „ „	„
1765	26	7	0	3 „ „	„
1766	38	13	8	3 „ „	„
1767	238	12	7	3 „ „	„
	deficit				
1768	207	10	10	3 „ „	„
	deficit				

ANNUAL AUDITS

	<i>Cash in hand</i>			<i>Investments</i>	<i>Liability</i>
	£	s.	d.		
1769	922	9	1	nil	„
1770	164	1	3	6 India Bonds	„
1771	421	11	1	6 „ „	„
1772	570	15	7	6 „ „	„
1773	552	2	4	6 „ „	„
1774	673	6	6	6 „ „	„
1775	758	3	3	6 „ „	„
1776	1414	6	7	6 „ „	„
1777	1276	13	8	nil	£2600 bonds
1778	880	4	2	nil	£2600 „
1779	251	5	1	nil	£1600 „
1780	75	2	5	nil	£1600 „
1781	778	19	0	nil	£1600 „
1782	484	13	2	nil	£500 „
1783	246	10	2	6 India Bonds	£500 „
1784	511	12	3	6 „ „	nil
1785	1107	2	11	6 „ „	nil
1786	1111	13	9	6 „ „	nil
1787	361	19	11	21 „ „	nil
1788	653	12	7	£3800 3 % Consold. Bank Annuities	nil
1789	1382	0	9	£3800 „ „	nil
1790	309	7	7	£6300 „ „	nil
1791	689	16	3	£7000 „ „	nil
1792	684	11	4	£8350 „ „	nil
1793	702	18	9	£9700 „ „	
1794	669	16	8	£11,800 „ „	
1795	1006	8	0	£14,000 „ „	
1796	773	5	6	£17,000 „ „	
1797	1307	17	8	£10,135 7 5 Bank Annuities and debt of City Lieutenancy, £1050	
1798	1472	19	4	£10,135 7 5 „ „	
1799	2024	14	5	£10,135 7 5 „ „	

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 born in Ireland—studied at Guy's Hospital
 1777, Army Surgeon
 1781, Apothecary Guy's Hospital
 1795, M.D., Aberdeen
 1795-1811, Physician to Guy's Hospital
 1796, L.C.P.
 1827, F.C.P. "speciali gratia"
 1831, M.D., Dublin. Honoris Causa.
 Baillie Matthew (1761-1823), F.R.S., 111
 nephew of William and John Hunter
 B.A., Oxford, 1783 ; M.A., B.M., 1786 ; D.M., 1789
 F.C.P., 1790
 Physician to St. George's Hospital, 1787-1799
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